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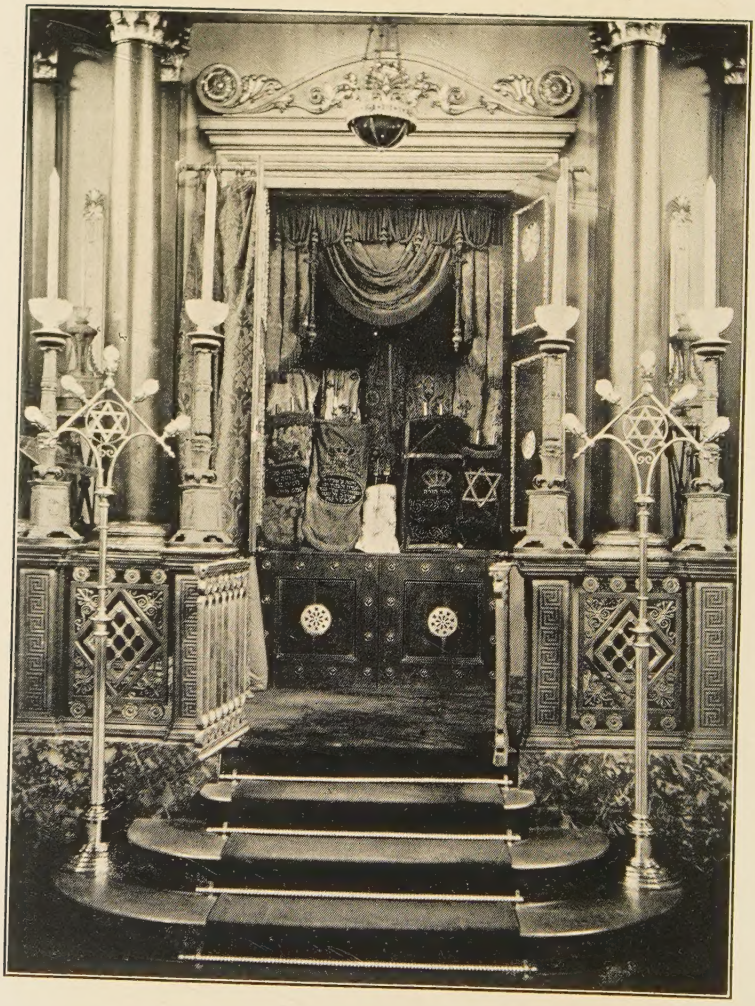
The Religion and Worship of The Synagogue



The "Ark" (containing the Scrolls of the Law) opened

(See p. 310)

The Religion and Worship of The Synagogue

An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period

By

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and

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Preface.

In planning the present volume the writers have endeavoured to keep in view the requirements more especially of Christian readers and students. For long the need of a popular Handbook dealing with Judaism in a comprehensive way, in a manner adequate to the theme and to the attainments of modern research, has been patent. It is becoming more and more widely recognized that in the light of the new knowledge that has resulted from the study of comparative religion, Judaism, particularly in its earlier phases, occupies a position of unique importance, especially for the elucidation of Christian origins. In such a study, it is true, Judaism not only proves illuminating, but is itself illuminated. But it remains unfortunately true that Judaism has not yet come to its rights in this department of knowledge. Too many students seem still to imagine that the serious study of the Jewish Religion can be left on one side altogether.

To Christian theologians, whose interests are absorbed in the investigation of the beginnings of Christianity, the study of Judaism *as a living whole*—as a vital organism with a soul and genius of its own—is also of supreme importance. We feel bound to express our conviction that the failure to appreciate this aspect of the matter has been responsible in the past for much one-sided and defective exegesis of the New Testament. It is true, learned treatises to illustrate particular themes of Christian interest—as, *e.g.*, the various "Lives" of Our Lord—have been written from time to time, and some of these are of great and enduring value in particular ways. But a collection of Jewish illustrations formed with the express object of pointing a particular theme is

not a presentment of the Jewish Religion. It still remains true that in order that such illustrations should be seen in their true bearings, and rightly appreciated, they must be viewed against a background where Judaism is realized as a living whole.

But besides the student of comparative religion and the Christian theologian, there is a third class whose needs ought to be considered in this matter; we mean that large and growing class of intelligent readers who take a human interest in all that is human for its own sake, and to whom the fact that Jews and Judaism occupy so conspicuous a place in the modern world must make its appeal. We would fain hope that the present volume will be found useful by and adapted to meet the needs of those readers who may happen to peruse it because of their interest in Judaism as one of the great living religions of the world to-day.

We have been speaking so far of non-Jewish readers. It is for such that this volume is planned. The needs of Jewish readers are already adequately supplied by manuals written by co-religionists. In any case, we should not have presumed to expound to them the tenets of their own religion. But the needs of non-Jewish Christian readers are different. Whether we have succeeded in our present enterprise or not, such a Handbook as is here attempted must necessarily be the work of non-Jewish hands.

Our aim in writing this volume has been not to make original contributions to knowledge, but to expound ascertained facts. We hope we have succeeded in presenting an adequate outline of Judaism as a whole, in its development from the New Testament Period down to modern times. English readers we fear have, as a rule, very imperfect notions as to the later phases of the Jewish Religion. They have little or no conception of the richness of its development, the extent and character of its literature, or the greatness and splendour of some

of its later achievements. This doubtless is largely due to the fact that it has never been clearly presented to them *as a whole*. In too many instances the treatment of the theme has been partial and one-sided, and therefore inadequate.

So far as the book can lay claim to any originality at all, it is an originality in the method and mode of presentment. If we have succeeded in setting forth a clear and intelligible and just outline of Judaism we shall be content. In expounding what seem to us to be the most important relevant facts we have availed ourselves freely of the work of various scholars of recognized eminence, both Jewish and non-Jewish. This has been made clear and will be apparent to the reader.*

At the head of most of the chapters in Parts I and II a special bibliography has been appended. This in each case is intended to suggest the most important works (accessible to English readers) which are available for the more detailed investigation of the particular subject. No attempt has been made to render these lists exhaustive.

It will be obvious that the book attempts to cover a very wide range. We can hardly hope to have travelled over so vast an area without mishap or stumbling. Doubtless some room or need for re-adjustment in details will soon be made apparent. We could indeed have wished to deal at greater length and more adequately with certain points of importance—as, for instance, the *Kabbalah*, and the Pharisees. On the latter point, in particular, much might even now be written. But the time is hardly yet ripe for a full discussion of the important issues. This may profitably be postponed till the facts can be more fully presented.

---

* Among Jewish scholars we are more particularly conscious of indebtedness to the work of Prof. Schechter, and among Christian scholars to that of Schürer, Dalman and Weber.

There is one other point of importance on which the writers desire to lay special emphasis. Rich as Rabbinical Judaism has been in its later phases, it yet (so it seems to us) represents an essentially attenuated line of development. It is but one off-shoot from a larger stem. It sprang from a larger and richer Judaism which, to a greater extent than is sometimes supposed, held within itself the forces which afterwards diverged as Rabbinism and Christianity. The common meeting-ground where these forces can be seen exhibiting themselves in combination (greater or less) is the field of the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature of Judaism. Here Christian scholars and theologians have been most actively at work within recent years, and to their labours we have endeavoured to do justice both in Part I and Part II.

A joint work, such as this volume is, necessitated, of course, a certain division of labour. The actual work of writing has been about evenly distributed between the two authors. But each has revised the work of the other, and both assume a joint responsibility for what is here set forth.

The writers desire to acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy of the Editor of the *Treasury* for allowing the substance of two articles (by Mr. Box) to be utilized here (see *Treasury*, Oct., 1904; March, 1906); to the Editor of the *Churchman* for a similar courtesy in respect of an article (by the same writer) which appeared in the September number of this year; and, lastly, to the Rev. Dr. Hastings who has kindly allowed two articles by the same writer on the Jewish Prayer-Book, which appeared in the *Expository Times* for April and May, 1904, to be in substance embodied in the relevant chapter here. In this connection we would press upon our readers the desirability of each securing a copy of the Jewish Prayer-Book for themselves. It can be procured (in Hebrew and English) for one shilling (published by

Eyre & Spottiswoode). We have constantly referred to it in these pages on the assumption that it would (as it easily can) be in each reader's possession.

The writers rejoice in taking this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging their immense debt to Jewish scholarship and learning,—not only so, but they also feel it incumbent upon themselves to record how much good they have gained both mentally, and, they trust, spiritually, from their study of the religion of the Synagogue. They are convinced that Judaism and Christianity are mutually essential to each other, and that just as the two faiths are complementary and belong together, so the advocates of each can only be true to their respective faiths by extending the right hand of fellowship to each other. The writers feel that they will not be misunderstood in saying this; they recognise the fundamental differences between Judaism and Christianity, they know as well as most people the obstacles which stand in the way of union between Jew and Christian, they profess themselves to be definite and convinced Churchmen, but this does not preclude them from—it is rather the cause of their—respecting the convictions of those from whom they differ; nor does it prevent them from contributing, in however humble a way, their *quota* towards hastening the glorious consummation which will one day come about when all will be one.

W. O. E. O. G. H. B.

St. Michael and All Angels,
1907.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES OF BOOKS.

Bousset	= *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903), (2nd edition, 1906).
Dalman *Words*	= *The Words of Jesus* (Engl. Transl. 1902).
E. Bibl	= *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ed. Cheyne and Black.
E. Brit	= *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edition).
Friedländer	= *The Jewish Religion* (2nd edition, 1900).
Hastings' *DB*	= *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Hastings.
Hastings' *DCG*	= *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed. Hastings.
HJP	= *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, by E. Schürer (English Translation 1890).
Holtzmann	= *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (2nd edition 1906).
JE	= *Jewish Encyclopædia.*
JQR	= *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
Kautsch	= *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautsch.
PEFQS	= *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.*
PRE	= *Real-Encyklopädie fur protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Herzog and Hauck.
PSBA	= *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archæology.*
RE	= *Realencyclopädie fur Bibel und Talmud.*
Singer	= *The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, ed. Singer (6th edition 1900).
Weber	= *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften* (end edition 1897).

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.

PART I. INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I.

General Historical Survey.

Historical Importance of the Babylonian Exile—Ezra, the "Founder of Judaism"—Prophetical Ideas regarding the Meaning of the Exile—The Results of the Exile on the Jewish Community—Rise of Greek-speaking Communities—Apocalyptic Writers—Rabbinism and Christianity—Jewish Communities in Europe.

Both politically and religiously the Babylonian Exile marks a crisis in the history of the People of Israel. In a sense it is the climax of their history, for with it the *national* existence came to an end. With the destruction of the Jewish State all that remained of the Israel of old was dissolved.

But on the ruins of the old a new Israel was to arise. For just as the Exodus resulted in making Israel a nation, so the Exile and its consequences became the appointed means for transforming the nation into a Church. Henceforth we have to deal, not with a single people living its confined but intense national life within the narrow limits of Judæan Palestine, but with a religious community widely (and, as time proceeded, ever more widely) diffused; whose centre (or rather centres) lay outside Palestine; and among whose units Palestinian Judaism only slowly and gradually assumed a pre-eminent place, which it was destined ultimately once more to lose.

The advent of Cyrus as deliverer had, it is true, excited the hopes of the more patriotic of the Jewish exiles to the highest pitch. They looked for a second Exodus—this time from Babylon [1]—and for the establishment of Israel in the Holy Land on the basis of a new covenant, and in a form fitted to express the lofty conceptions that had been developed of the covenant-people's vocation and destiny.[2] These aspirations find their sublimest expression and most gorgeous setting in the discourses of the "Great Unknown" prophet of the Exile, who is commonly designated the Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah, Chaps. 40 foll.).

In the immediate result, expectation, as we know, was only very imperfectly fulfilled. In the minds of the more ardent the reality must have produced disillusionment; while others could only look to the future for the longed-for consummation. Meanwhile the Jerusalem community lived on in obscurity and weakness, and as yet gave little promise of what was to come. "All seems on a reduced scale, as compared with the past. Zechariah was the chief prophet, Nehemiah the chief man of action, in an epoch which their contemporaries spoke of slightingly, but mistakenly, as 'a day of small things.'" [3] One great and distinguished figure, however, emerges in the person of Ezra, who occupies a unique place in the history of Jewish religion. Ezra, in fact, may justly be described as the "founder of Judaism." Before proceeding to summarize the characteristics of the age subsequent to Nehemiah it will be well to state briefly, (1) the prophetic ideas regarding the meaning of the Exile, and (2) its actual results on the Jewish community.

(1) According to the prophets *the destruction of the Jewish State was due to the sin of the people.* The prophets,

[1] Cf., e.g., Is. 42^{20} ff.; 52^{11}.
[2] Cf. Is. $42^{6,7}$; 49.
[3] Hay Hunter, *After the Exile*, I, xvii.

who have been well called "the conscience of Israel" exhibit a keen and intense sense of national sin. Accordingly Israel is judged after a (relatively) ideal standard. An instance vividly illustrating the prophetic conception of the destructiveness of moral evil can be seen in Jeremiah 4^{23-26}.

Further, the fall of Judah was the triumph of Jehovah. The Jehovah of the prophets was the moral ruler of the world Who "was exalted in judgment . . . sanctified in righteousness" (Is. 5^{16}). While other gods shared the ruin of their people Jehovah alone "rose the higher over the ruins of Jerusalem." Far different was it with the Jehovah of the mass of the people and their prophets. He was but the national deity of Israel, and had succumbed before the gods of Babylon.[1]

(2) *The results of the Exile on the Jewish Community* were stupendous. It denationalized religion. It has justly been pointed out [2] that, in principle, the separation between the State and the Church had already been effected in the Book of Deuteronomy. But in practice Deuteronomic principles met at the outset with serious obstacles in the way of their realization. The last of these disappeared with the destruction of the State. "The death of the people was the birth of the individual, and the ruin of the State the rise of the Church." Ultimately, as we shall see, the new religious forces that were developed embodied themselves in new forms.

The first to seize and enforce the lessons of the Exile was the prophet Ezekiel, "the first dogmatist of the Old Testament." He laid the theological foundations of the structure which Ezra reared.[3]

The immediate effect of the catastrophe of 586 B.C.,

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[1] See further Davidson, *The Exile and Restoration*, ch. ii.

[2] e.g., by Cornill, *Der Israelitische Prophetismus*, pp. 83 ff. (6th Ed.).

[3] Cf. the Chapter referring to Ezek. in *Cornill*, *op. cit.* ch. iv, pp. 117 ff.

when Temple and City were destroyed, must have been keenly felt by all the survivors. In spite of the fact that the exiles in Chaldæa were allowed to live together in clans and families, many doubtless lost heart and faith, and merged themselves in the surrounding heathenism. Those who remained faithful were almost without hope. "They were lying under a sort of vast interdict; they could not celebrate any sacrifice or keep any feast; they could only celebrate days of fasting and humiliation,[1] and such rites as had no inseparable connexion with the Holy Land." Among the practices whose importance as signs of a common religion was enhanced during this period were the observance of the Sabbath and the rite of circumcision. Meetings on the Sabbath Day, during which it may have become customary to read selections from the prophetic writings, appear also to have grown up during the Exile.

The achievements of the century which ended with the age of Nehemiah cannot be better summed up than in the words of the eloquent author of *After the Exile*[2]: "Within these hundred years . . . the teaching of Moses was established as the basis of the national life, the first steps were taken towards the formation of a Canon of Scripture. Jewish society was moulded into a shape which succeeding centuries modified, but did not essentially change. During this period, the Judæa of the days of our Lord came into being. Within this period, the forces which opposed Christ, the forces which rallied to His side, had their origin. This century saw the rise of parties, which afterwards became sects, under

[1] Such were the fasts of the 10th, 4th, 5th and 7th months (cf. Zech. 8^{19}), commemorating the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem (10th of Tebeth), the breach made in the wall (17th Tammuz), the destruction of the Temple (9th of Ab), and the murder of Gedaliah (3rd of Tisri), all still observed by the Jews (see ch. xx). According to Jewish tradition both the first and the second Temple were destroyed on the same day (9th of Ab).

[2] Vol. I, p. xvi.

the names of Pharisees and Sadducees. It laid the foundations of Rabbinism. It fixed the attitude of the Jews towards the Gentiles. It put the priesthood on the way to supreme authority. It gave birth to the Samaritan schism."

Nothing is more significant of the altered balance of forces that inevitably grew out of the changed conditions of Jewish life than the position of the Davidic royal house in the restored community. The last member of the old royal family to occupy a position of power and importance at Jerusalem appears to have been Zerubbabel, who for a time was Governor (or "Pekah"). But while the importance of the old Davidic line declined, that of the High Priest correspondingly advanced. Indeed, it is probable that the latter came to be recognized as the official representative of the community by the Imperial Power. It is true that for a brief space the Palestinian Jews won and enjoyed political independence in the brilliant days of the Maccabees. But this is only one of those exceptions that prove the rule. National independence was then only secured when the religious elements among the people were goaded into revolt by persecution; and the latter quite willingly acquiesced in the re-establishment of foreign control over secular affairs, when religious liberty was again guaranteed. In fact it was ultimately recognized that the political independence won by the Hasmoneans was really only a "brilliant aberration" from the true course of the Church-nation's historical development.[1]

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[1] It is true, the party of the "Zealots" became powerful in the first century A.D. in Palestine, and were really responsible for the revolt against Rome, which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem A.D. 70, and this party was, of course, a political party in the sense that it was anti-Roman, and objected to all foreign domination; the same remark applies to the Bar-Kokba revolt (132–135 A.D.) when the most famous Rabbi of the period, Akiba, committed himself to a definitely anti-Roman attitude and paid the penalty with his life. But in both cases strong protests were

RA - 444 B.C.

The period subsequent to the acceptance of the Law by the Jerusalem community (B.C. 444, probably) is, strictly speaking, the period of Judaism. The ideas that characterize the system of Judaism will come up for discussion later on. Perhaps one of the most striking, and one that later received manifold expression, is the idea of *the separateness of the Jew from the heathen.*

The period that falls between Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem (B.C. 432) and the birth of our Lord is one of many-sided importance. Though it is often neglected, it may be truly said that without some knowledge of the history, political and religious, which during these centuries so profoundly affected Jewish life and thought, not only the New Testament, but also a considerable portion of the Old, cannot be at all adequately understood. Under the action of Greek culture and civilization, which were widely diffused with the conquests of Alexander, as well as by the subsequent rise of Roman political power in the East, Palestine, in common with the rest of the ancient oriental world, was transformed. The internal and external life and growth of Judaism itself were profoundly modified ; parties and movements, religious and political ideas and ideals, were slowly developed and gradually assumed the form with which the pages of the New Testament have made us familiar.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of these influences on Judaism, during this period, is the rise of the large and powerful communities of Greek-speaking Jews which, after the commencement of the Greek epoch had come into existence in various portions of the civilized world outside Palestine, and within the confines of the Roman Empire (The Dispersion).[1] How large a part this element

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made by other eminent Jewish authorities, and ultimately a non-political attitude was accepted as the true expression of Judaism.

[1] Cf. S. John 7^{35}: "Will He go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks ?"

subsequently played in facilitating the rapid diffusion of Christianity is well known ; take for instance the eloquent fact that the books of the New Testament, at least in their canonical form, assumed a Greek dress.[1]

The Judaism of Alexandria—the Judaism of Philo—was, of course, very different from the Pharisaic orthodoxy of Jerusalem. And, no doubt, the broader and less exclusive type of religion that characterized the Alexandrines fixed the type of religion that prevailed in the Jewish communities of the Roman Empire generally. S. Paul may have been brought under the influence of this spirit in his early years at Tarsus, though he did (for a time) become a " Pharisee of the Pharisees." In fact it is possible that on the soil of Palestine itself a school of religious thought of a distinctly higher spiritual type than the current Pharisaic orthodoxy may have been active in the last two centuries B.C., and that the leaders of this school were the great Apocalyptic writers, some of whose work has survived in the Apocalyptic literature (e.g. the Book of Enoch). If, as has recently been maintained,[2] the great Apocalyptists, rather than the orthodox Rabbis of Jerusalem, were the religious leaders of large sections of the people—" the people of the land " [3]—and if the preaching of John the Baptist was really a movement that took its rise among the *'am ha-arets*, then we are brought face to face with the highly interesting fact that there was within Palestinian Judaism a sort of Jewish preparation for Christianity.[4] *It is*

[1] In fact, the New Testament books, in point of language may be regarded as belonging to the extensive Hellenistic literature of the Jews which included the Jewish-Greek version of the Old Testament known as *The Septuagint.*

[2] See M. Friedländer's epoch-making book, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Iudentums im Zeitalter Jesu* (Berlin, 1905).

[3] " People of the land," Heb. *'am ha-arets*, almost a technical term in Rabbinical literature.

[4] In the first two chapters of the Third Gospel we may very probably see a sketch of this type of Jewish piety in the typical

important to remember that Judaism, as it existed before the destruction of Jerusalem, was much more complex and richer in content than it afterwards became when Rabbinism secured its final triumph. Rabbinical orthodoxy was only one among other elements before A.D. 70. Doubtless the rise of Christianity had some influence in fixing the ultimate result; Christianity must have largely absorbed the more liberal elements of the Jewish Dispersion. Henceforth, after A.D. 70, Judaism is essentially bound up with the Rabbinical expression of it. The centre of the Rabbinic schools was at first Palestine, where under the Jewish patriarchs the Jewish community were to enjoy for a period a certain amount of prosperity (2–4 cent. A.D.). Here the earliest codification of the oral Law, the *Mishnah,* was written (c. 190 A.D.) by Judah ha-Nasi (the "Prince"). The *Mishnah* formed the basis for discussion in the Rabbinical schools both of Palestine and of Babylonia; for, it must be remembered, Babylonia was still the centre of a large Jewish population. The results of these discussions in Palestine and Babylonia were embodied in the Talmud of Jerusalem (completed c. 5 cent. A.D.) and the Talmud of Babylon (completed c. 6 cent. A.D.)[1].

A word may be added on the rise of Jewish communities in Europe. The fact that such existed at a comparatively early period in Greece and Rome is already familiar from the New Testament. When the Roman community had its origin is unknown, but in any case it was well established by the time of S. Paul. If, as seems not improbable, the Emperor Hadrian deported some Jewish colonists to the neighbourhood of the Rhine after the suppression of the Bar-Kokba revolt (135 A.D.), we can see in this fact

figures of Mary and Joseph, Simeon and Anna, and Zacharias, all doubtless looking for a spiritual (as opposed to a merely national) redemption to be effected by the "consolation of Israel."

[1] See further ch. v.

the origin of the rise of the great central community of Jews which spread over Middle Europe, including Poland, and which was called later the community of the Ashkenazim.[1]

We are thus brought to the full stream of European Jewish History, and so into the domain of all that can be called Modern in its application to Judaism.

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[1] See ch. v.

Additional Note.—The Study of Jewish History with which the present volume is not directly concerned, is all-important for the right understanding of Judaism generally. The main relevant facts can be gathered from several useful works. The following, which are accessible in English, may be enumerated here :—

i. BETWEEN NEHEMIAH AND THE NEW TESTAMENT :
Jerusalem under the High-Priests by E. Bevan, London, 1904 ; *From Exile to Advent* by W. Fairweather, Edinburgh, 1905.

ii. THE NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD :
History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ (English Translation, 5 vols.) by E. Schürer, Edinburgh, 1890. *The Jews under Roman Rule*, W. D. Morrison, London, 1890 (strongly recommended). *The Life and Times of Jesus, the Messiah*, by A. Edersheim (2 vols., 7th Ed.), London, 1892 ; also abbreviated edition in one volume.

iii. HISTORY OF THE JEWS GENERALLY :
History of the Jews, by H. Graetz (English Translation, 5 vols.), London, 1892. *History of the Jewish Nation*, by A. Edersheim (New Edition), London, 1896. *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, by I. Abrahams, London, 1896. *Outlines of Jewish History*, by Lady Magnus, London, 1898. The following volume will also be found very useful, I. Abrahams, *A Short History of Jewish Literature* (from A.D., 70–1786), London, 1906.

CHAPTER II.

Questions Preliminary.

The Influence of Environment upon the Development of Religious Belief—The Semitic Origin of the Jews—The Racial Characteristics of the Jews; Religiousness; Enthusiasm; Optimism; Perseverance; Business Capacity; Self-Assertiveness; Exclusiveness; Cosmopolitanism.

I. The Influence of Environment upon the Development of Religious Belief.

It is a truth which is probably insufficiently realized that early religious conceptions and practices have been to a large extent (under God) evolved, moulded, and either stereotyped or modified, by *physical* surroundings. This has had its effect upon the religion of the Jews, for, although the religion of Israel was so distinctive and unique from the very beginnings of the nation's history, it is certain, nevertheless, that its ancestors practised a faith which was, in its main characteristics, common to the Semitic race.[1]

"The positive Semitic religions had to establish themselves on ground already occupied by older beliefs and usages; they had to displace what they could not assimilate, and whether they rejected or absorbed the elements of the older religion, they had at every point to reckon with them, and take up a definite attitude towards them. No positive religion that has moved men has been able to start with a *tabula rasa*, and express itself as if religion were beginning for the first time."[2]

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[1] Jos. 24[2]: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood (i.e., the Euphrates) in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham and the father of Nachor, *and they served other gods.*" Cf. also verses 14, 15.

[2] Robertson Smith: *The Religion of the Semites* (New Edition), p. 2.

Moreover, we have overwhelming evidence in the Bible itself that from the wanderings in the wilderness right up to the Babylonian Captivity there was an ever-recurring tendency to revert to an older—a polytheistic—form of worship. Clearly, therefore, this ancient worship exercised considerable influence upon the religion of Israel; and it is no exaggeration to say that no one of the religions of Semitic origin, among which not only Judaism, but Christianity itself is to be reckoned, can be fully understood without inquiry into the older traditional religion of the Semitic race.[1] It is no part of our present intention to prosecute such inquiry here, but a reference to the older faith will be necessary in several cases, because (as will be seen in a later Chapter) a number of the religious practices of modern orthodox Jews go back in their origin to a period of remote antiquity, and, if religious customs and practices are to be properly understood, they must, whenever possible, be traced back to their origin.

In its beginnings the Israelite religion was greatly influenced by environment, physical as well as social; in its most modern developments the influence of environment has been very marked. Take as an instance the eloquent fact that the Jewish people, who within historical times, down to the time when the *Mishnah* was compiled,[2] were essentially an agricultural people, have under stress of political and social circumstances almost entirely ceased to be so; this has been the case for the greater part of the Christian era.[3] As is

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[1] Robertson Smith: *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 3.

[2] Whole treatises of the *Mishnah* are devoted to purely agricultural subjects; the first division of the *Mishnah* has the general title *Zeraim* ("Seeds"), and the second treatise in this division, *Peah* ("Corner"), deals with the regulations concerning the corner of the field (Lev. 19^{9}, ^{10}; 23^{22}; Deut. 24^{19-22}) and with the rights of the poor in general. Cf. *JE* viii, 617.

[3] See Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, chaps. xi, xii (London, 1896).

well known, the Jews of modern times have been mainly engaged in various forms of trade; quite recently, however, a gallant attempt has been made to revive agriculture in the Jewish colonies of Palestine.[1]

This influence of environment upon religious belief and teaching is naturally as strong upon individuals as upon communities; and when such individuals are great teachers and leaders of men, the influence becomes limitless in its workings. A striking instance from the Bible may be given. After Moses, the most notable exponents of the religion of Israel were the prophets; but each prophet stamped his presentation of belief with a marked individuality; this is most conspicuously evident in the prophetic teaching on the Personality of God, which is the central core of all religion. Each prophet emphasizes some special characteristic of God, and the individuality of each prophet's teaching finds its highest expression just in that particular personal attribute of God upon which he specially lays stress. Amos was a shepherd; it was a rough life which he led among the wilds of Southern Judæa, far from the cultured centres of town life, with its luxury, and sin, and easy-going belief in a good-natured God [2]; with its feasting and revelling and constant round of enjoyment.[3] To Amos life was serious; nature, as he saw it, was stern; and his conception of the God of nature was in accordance with what he saw. To him the thunder and lightning, wind, storm and tempest, which he so often witnessed in all their fierceness and awe-inspiring grandeur on those lonely hills, were but manifestations of God's anger with His sinning people, an anger which was demanded because God was just. And the teaching

[1] For an illustrated account of these, English and German, see *Views from Palestine and the Jewish Colonies photographed and described* by J. Raffalovich and M. E. Sachs, published for the "Chovevi Zion Association" in London (undated).

[2] Amos 5^{18}. [3] Amos 6^{1-6}.

of Amos dealt mainly with the wrath of God. The stern, hard life, and surroundings of the Judæan herdsman were not without their influence upon his thought, and therefore upon his words and teaching. Or, to take one other instance, Isaiah, as far as can be gathered, was probably related to the royal house, and was, at any rate, in frequent contact with the court and king; he often witnessed, therefore, earthly pomp and circumstance. Was it that which first taught him to think about a heavenly court, and how infinitely greater God's majesty and glory must be? Certain it is that he is the great exponent of the sublime majesty of God; what better instance of this could be referred to than that superb picture in the sixth chapter of his book, which begins: "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple."

It must not be supposed that later Judaism is destitute of great personalities among its exponents and teachers; the contrast between Isaiah and Maimonides, or Moses Mendelssohn, may, perhaps, at first sight strike the Christian reader with a painful shock of surprise, but, all the same, the latter loom very large in the Jewish consciousness, and have exercised a profound and far-reaching influence over Jewish development. If the heroes of later Judaism are not of such imposing proportions, or cast in such a heroic mould as the great prophets of Israel, this but serves to illustrate the point under discussion; the latter times have not exactly been heroic, the environment of the Ghetto has not exactly been comparable in power and possibility with the free and spontaneous energy generated by political independence and real national existence.[1]

Therefore, just as the teaching of individuals is impressed and coloured by their life and surroundings, so the religion of a nation—which it has to teach the world—is influenced by national characteristics, and

[1] See further chap. iii, § vii.

modified by the varying conditions under which the nation, or a part of it, is forced to live. In the domain of pure religion it will suffice to point to two examples of this. Reverence for the *Torah* (the Law),[1] which so profoundly modified Israel's religion as taught by the prophets, took its rise during the Babylonian Captivity, which, though at first sight a time of profound misfortune, proved to be the Golden Age of literary activity. Again, what is known as the "Reform" Movement of to-day has been mainly brought about by the favourable, not to say seductive, surroundings in which many Jews now find themselves.

II. The Semitic Origin of the Jews.

The Jews belong to what is called the "northern" branch of the Semitic race. The northern Semites comprise the Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramæans (Syrians), Phoenicians, Canaanites (Amorites), and the Israelites.[2] The southern Semites include the Arabians and the Abyssinians. Some of these could be subdivided, but it is unnecessary to go into these subdivisions here.

The purest strain of the Semites is to be found among the Bedouin Arabs of Arabia,[3] and, according to a number of the best authorities on the subject, it is Arabia which must be regarded as the primeval home of the Semites. The Arabs were a prolific race; yet Arabia was a land which was by nature unable to sustain a large population for any length of time. Only here and there, at spots where a plentiful and permanent supply of water was assured, were settlements on a large scale possible. The land as a whole lacks water and can offer a lasting home

[1] See chap. iii, § i.

[2] The Philistines ought probably to be included in this branch, though their Semitic descent has been denied by some scholars.

[3] The interesting observation has been made more than once that it is still possible to hear the pure classical form of Arabic —the Arabic of the Koran, with full case-endings, etc.—spoken among the Bedouin of the Arabian steppes.

only to the wandering Bedouin herdsmen. The surplus population, therefore, was being constantly thrown off, and hordes of sturdy country-born nomads periodically overflowed into the more cultured centres, displacing to a great extent the occupiers,[1] and being afterwards displaced themselves by a similar process. There was thus a constant coming and going, a giving and taking, a periodical change, the town-dwellers giving place to the healthy and physically more vigorous country people —a real struggle for existence. Probably as early as the fifth millennium before Christ the Sumerians were to a great extent overwhelmed by a huge wave of Semitic immigration. Certainly in the third millennium, when the ancient Babylonian kingdom had become decayed and rotten, a further wave of Semites moved out from Arabia and wrought great changes in that ancient seat of civilization. It was, too, at this period that the Canaanite element appeared in Syria and Palestine,[2] while at the same time the (Semitic ?) Hyksos asserted themselves in Egypt. From the beginning of the second millennium onwards numerous examples of the old process are observable ; the Semitic nomads from northern Arabia press into Mesopotamia, Aramaic nomads make repeated inroads into the Babylonian-Assyrian centres of civilization, the Minæans wander southwards, the Phœnicians and the Hebrews gradually move up along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and the Chaldeans in southern Babylonia begin to show signs of unrest.[3] So that both from the earliest available historical *data*, as well as from the analogy of later history, we are led to regard Arabia as

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[1] Cf. a similar process which took place in Europe during the fourth and following centuries, when Central Europe was overrun by the Huns.

[2] For signs of the pre-Semitic population of Palestine, see *PEFQS*, 1902–1904.

[3] See O. Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, in "Der alte Orient," 1901.

the primeval home of the Semitic race. Thus it is interesting to note that the two sole surviving representatives of the old Semitic populations are the Arabs, who still maintain their primitive characteristics, and the scattered Jewish communities.[1]

This fact has an important bearing on the estimate we form of the modern Jew. Though there is every reason to suppose that at various times other racial elements have been absorbed into the Jewish,[2] the Jew has remained and remains to-day essentially *oriental.* Orientalism must constantly be allowed for in judging not only Jewish life and character, but also all the products of the Jewish spirit, including, of course, all branches of its literature. Not only the Old, but also the New Testament itself is very largely an oriental literary product. The failure to allow for this element, and give it its due place, has proved disastrous to much Christian exegesis.

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[1] The Semitic element among the old Assyro-Babylonian population has long since lost its identity and become submerged in the various movements and changes brought about by successive invasions and political changes. Arabic influence amidst this welter of vicissitudes has left a marked impress upon language and culture, e.g. Turkish and Persian, and even Hindustani. It seems clear, on the whole, that the genuine Jewish type has been preserved most distinctly where large communities of Jews have been isolated and artificially kept apart by stringent political conditions. The most outstanding instance is perhaps the case of the Polish Jews. The fact that the typical Polish-Jewish physiognomy shows marked points of resemblance with that of the Bedouin Arab confirms the truth of this observation (Cf. also the Israelite types preserved on Egyptian monuments.)

[2] It is well known that the racial purity of the Jewish population of Galilee was not above suspicion ; the very name " Galilee of the Gentiles " suggests that the region so called was the borderland between Jews and Gentiles. Notice also in the Gospels the implied contempt of the Jerusalem population for the Galilæan accent, and provincial speech, " thy speech bewrayeth thee." This is a subject of jest (at the expense of the Galilæans) in the Talmud. It should be added that while the provincial accent and speech of the Apostles is referred to in the Gospels, no such peculiarity is suggested or implied in the case of our Lord.

Regarding the racial purity of the Jews of Modern Europe, it is difficult to arrive at any very definite conclusions; that a certain amount of intermixture has taken place is undeniable (e.g., marriages of Jews with non-Jewish women are fairly common); while certain Jewish families, undoubtedly, have always been very particular to preserve the pure Israelitish strain, more especially priestly families.[1] At the same time, the influence of a non-Jewish environment, continued through long centuries, has issued in surprising results even as regards the physical characteristics of the race; examples of distinctively non-Jewish types of physiognomy are by no means rare among the Jewish populations of Europe. An interesting controversy, involving the points referred to above, took place a few years ago in England in the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*;[2] one view strenuously upheld by several eminent English Jews, including the late Dr. Singer, is that Judaism is not essentially an affair of race, but simply the profession of a particular form of creed, like e.g., Roman Catholicism as contrasted with Protestantism; on the other hand, it is maintained that those who profess this particular form of creed are practically, without exception, born Jews. A Jew is born, not made. A reference in this connexion may be made to Heine's bitter remark: "Judaism is not a religion, but a misfortune!"[3]

III. The Racial Characteristics of the Jews.

One of the most interesting studies with regard to the Jews, and one which obviously concerns their religion

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[1] Many of them treasure long and detailed genealogies showing pure Jewish descent.

[2] See *Jewish Chronicle* for October 19, 26, November 2 and 9, 1900.

[3] See further, on the points above discussed, *JE*, art. *Anthropology*.

very closely, is that of their racial characteristics. These must be divided into two classes :

i. Those that are indigenous to the Semitic race, and

ii. Those that have been acquired by varied environment during the last two thousand years of their history.

i. There is, first and foremost, what may be termed their *Religiousness.* It is perfectly true that the study of Anthropology has revealed the fact that Religiousness, in varied form, is a characteristic common to all races, even the most primitive ; and that no race exists in which a belief in higher, spiritual powers (of varying qualities, it is true) does not play a leading part in the life of the people. Thus, for example, the most primitive races in existence, those namely of Central and Northern Australia, who are still in the Stone Age, possess a depth of religious feeling and a store of religious (from our point of view superstitious) practices, the existence of which was never dreamt of by anthropologists of a generation ago.[1] But while all early races have this remarkable store of religious, or superstitious, belief, that of the early Semites was characterized by a loftiness of conception which, with one exception, cannot be paralleled by any other early race. The exception refers to the Egyptians ; but even here many scholars are disposed to believe that the Egyptians were not wholly free from the admixture of Semitic blood ; at any rate, there can be no doubt of this, that it was during the ascendency of the Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings"—who *were*, probably, Semites—that

[1] See the works of Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904). In the former of these two works magic and religion are differentiated, but it would be difficult to indicate precisely where the dividing line between the two should be drawn ; what we should call magic is religion to the savage, just as what was, in many cases, religion to mediæval Christians is designated superstition by us now ; and the process may continue, for all we know.

the religious reform in the direction of a monotheistic worship took place in Egypt.[1] *Religiousness*, then, the development of the religious faculty, was a characteristic of the Semitic race. But there was no branch of the Semitic race in which this religious faculty was more strikingly developed than in the Hebrew branch. The people whose religion forms the foundation of Christianity and Mohammedanism,[2] the people whose religion is the source of that of nearly half the population of the world, must be peculiarly endowed with the genius of religion,—moreover, a people who have given to the world the Old and New Testaments must needs stand out as preeminently endowed with the spirit of religion. How this people became so endowed, whether, as we believe, through the direct revelation of God, or whether, as many (including, strange to say, not a few Jews) hold, it was the result of a natural process of mental evolution, is not a question that need be here discussed ; it is the *fact* that now concerns us, and of that fact there is no shadow of doubt.

Another characteristic (which the Semite shares with the rest of Orientals) is a certain *warmness of temperament*, a capacity for deep and strongly defined feeling, which differentiates so markedly the East from the West. The Oriental exercises little or no restraint, as a rule, over his emotional nature ; often there is a certain extravagance about his actions and words, which to the colder temperament of the West must necessarily appear

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[1] If it be objected, as has not infrequently been done, that the higher development of religious feeling and belief was due not to racial characteristic (i.e. to the divine implanting) but to a more highly-developed culture, one has but to point to the far higher culture and civilization of the peoples of Greece and Rome, who yet in their religious beliefs and practices were not very far removed from the level of the savage.

[2] It is an interesting fact that on Mount Sinai at the present day there stands a Christian Church in close proximity to a Mohammedan mosque—the living picture of a striking, but often forgotten, truth.

eccentric, not to say grotesque. This nowhere emerges more clearly than in the literature; luxuriant verbiage, hyperbole, fantastic imagery are the natural modes of expression indulged in by an Eastern writer when he is writing fully and without constraint; when this quality is reduced (as it is reduced, though by no means eliminated, in the sacred literature of Israel) this fact must be accounted for by the moderating and restraining influence of pure religious ideas.[1] No Easterns have ever displayed these characteristics in more pronounced form than the Jews and Arabs. The classical examples of religious fanaticism are to be found among members of these two branches of the Semitic race (cf., for example, Rabbi Akiba, and the prophet Mohammed). And this is equally true of the Jews and Arabs of the present time; one has but to watch a typical Semite, whether he be a foreign Jew living in the East End of London or a Mullah in the Soudan, speak on any subject that really interests him, and observe the varying facial expression, the flashing eyes and animated gestures, to realize at once how easily the fanatical spirit can be kindled in that excitable temperament.

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[1] To anyone who reads the New Testament (especially the Gospels) with open eyes, the characteristic marks of orientalism are patent; at the same time in no other branch of Semitic literature is the restraining influence of high religious ideas more pronounced. One has but to contrast the Canonical Gospels, on the one hand, with the Apocryphal, on the other hand, and with Rabbinical writings, to see how markedly the New Testament product is distinguished by its sobriety and sweet reasonableness; and this is above all true of our Lord as a teacher when the accounts of Him and His words are compared with those of typical Jewish Rabbis: "He spake as one having authority and not as the scribes," Matt. 7^{29}. A good instance of His method in dealing with a question of Law (*Halakah*) occurs in S. Mark 7^{1-23}.; the direct statements here made contrast forcibly with the regular Rabbinical methods of formal teaching on matters of binding law; if a Rabbi gave an "halakic" decision he would think it necessary to base the conclusion on Scriptural authority, which would be reached by an elaborate and complicated use of texts interpreted according to Rabbinical rules of exegesis.

The highest manifestation of this temperament is of course a disciplined faith, the lowest an unrestrained and narrow fanaticism. As illustrations of the rise to boiling-point of the fanatical [1] spirit among the Jews may be cited the Maccabæan revolt, the rise of the "Zealots," followed by the first (A.D. 70) and the second (A.D. 132–135) revolts against Rome; and, in modern times, the Zionist Movement; among the Arabs, the Mohammedan propaganda, which in the pride of its early strength overwhelmed the East, and then all but succeeded in overwhelming the West.[2]

Closely connected with the quality that has been discussed, and, in fact, one of its manifestations, is *the optimistic temperament* which at all crises of their history, and not least during the Christian centuries, has proved one of the most priceless possessions of the Jewish people.[3] In face of the dire persecutions that have from time to time been inflicted on them in Christian Europe they have ever exhibited a brave front; unquenchable hope has always characterized them.[4] A pathetic example of this deep-seated optimistic feeling is to be seen in the watchword with which Jews cheer one another at the

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[1] "Fanatical" is here meant to include the best sense of the term.

[2] The great victory, won by Charles Martel at Tours in 729, stemmed the tide of Arab invasion in the West, and saved Western Christendom. The Moors were not finally driven out of Spain till 1492. Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453.

[3] "This, too, is for the best" was the favourite saying of one of the most venerated Rabbis who figure in the Talmud, not in any spirit of meek resignation or morbid fatalism, but in the spirit of incurable optimism. With optimism came cheerfulness which was regarded as one of the leading virtues. See Montague, *Tales from the Talmud*, p. 231 (1906).

[4] In fact, persecution has but served to show them at their best, it has (under God) refined and strengthened the racial type, though nothing can avail to excuse or palliate the savagery that often marked such outbursts of unchristian passion. The bitter fruits have been hatred and mutual contempt and misunderstanding, which even yet have not been fully removed.

close of the annual Passover Feast: "Next year in Jerusalem."

ii. *Acquired characteristics.*

It is important to remember that the main determining cause in the evolution of what may be called acquired Jewish characteristics has been due to the fact that the dispersed Jewish communities have at various times been subjected to persecutions from without. This is, of course, specially true of the Jews in Europe, but it is also true, in a less degree, of Jewish communities in the East.

The net result, on the whole, of persecution has been to consolidate the race—a result which has both a good and a bad side.

Perhaps the most valuable quality developed under these conditions, and one that deserves the first mention is *Perseverance*. In the exercise of this racial *trait*, the Jews offer an example to all the world. Their perseverance, as could be proved by hundreds of instances, is indomitable; the greater the obstacle, the keener is the resolve to overcome. There are many interesting examples on record of the various stages "westwards," through which the persevering Jew of the East End has passed, and eventually settled down in the West End of London. The motive underlying his desire may often be an unworthy one, but that means that a good characteristic has been used for a bad purpose, for success is, certainly in most cases, due to perseverance.[1] But good qualities have only too frequently their bad counterpart, and it will not be disputed that the persevering Jew can also be obstinate, and filled with egotism and impregnable conceit; this makes him sometimes difficult, and even disagreeable, to deal with, not only for Christians, but also for his fellow-Jews.

[1] Nobler examples of the same quality could easily be cited, e.g., the progress of the young Jew, devoted to learning, from a Polish Ghetto to some distinguished position in the Academic world, is by no means an uncommon event.

And this leads us to touch upon a characteristic, which to the ordinary Christian is the Jewish characteristic *par excellence*, viz. Business Capacity,[1]—though it is true, under "business," so far as Jews are concerned, the ordinary Christian too often understands money-lending, and selling old clothes! It is interesting to inquire what basis of fact underlies this estimate. It arose through the action of the Church during the Middle Ages towards the Jews; restrictions on practically every handicraft and on almost every trade in which Jews sought to engage were in force. In the "Ordinance of Valladolid," drawn up in 1412, one may see of what kind these restrictions were; Jews were prohibited from selling bread, wine, flour, oil or butter in the markets; they were not allowed to practise carpentering, tailoring or shoemaking, and they were strictly forbidden to employ or be employed by Christians in any trade whatsoever. In other parts of Europe these restrictions were enforced even more rigidly than in Spain. In England money-lending was absolutely the only profession open to a Jew.[2] Can one wonder that the habit of centuries should have become second nature to the descendants of many Jews? It is, certainly in part, due to this treatment that the "sharp practice" of the Jew has become proverbial.

Once more, it may perhaps be due to the contrast between the restrictions of the past and the complete liberty of action (at all events in England and America) now enjoyed, that accounts for the disagreeable *self-assertiveness*, and love of ostentation which are characteristic of a certain type of Jew; it is but fair, however, to

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[1] It is a mistake to suppose, however, that all Jews have great business capacity; there are large numbers of Jews living in deep poverty.

[2] See Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Jacob's *The Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893; and *Select Pleas, Starrs and Records of the Jewish Exchequer*, edited for the Selden Society by J. M. Rigg, London, 1901.

remember that these qualities are not met with in the best types ; they are but too obvious in the fairly prosperous West-End Jew,[1] but not in the hard-working, genuine son of Abraham of the East End.

Lastly, there is a characteristic, partly indigenous, no doubt, but also to a great extent acquired, which is best expressed by the word *Exclusiveness*. This received an immense impulse (and stereotyped what had, no doubt, been prevalent long before) at the time of Ezra ; it was fostered, in the first place, by the national consciousness of two things : firstly, the conviction that, as a nation, they were the particular favourites of Heaven ; and, secondly, because they possessed a code of morals which was, beyond all question, infinitely purer and more exalted than that of any other nation. It was but natural that this should engender a sense of superiority, and therefore of exclusiveness ; at the time of Ezra this mental attitude became enhanced by a fanatical and ever-increasing devotion to the *Torah* (Law), and long before the advent of Christ it had become crystallized into a settled national *trait*, which, later on, the antagonism between the Christian and the Jewish Church only served to emphasize. The subsequent history of the Jews shows how persecution still further increased their attachment to the Law, and hardened them in their feelings towards all non-Jews. That this feeling of exclusiveness is by no means non-existent at the present day is obvious enough to anyone who comes much in contact with Jews ; at the same time, it will not be denied that, at any rate in England, the last decade or two has seen a great improvement in the general feeling of Jews towards Christians and Christianity.

It remains, in conclusion, to emphasize another quality acquired by the Jewish race as a result of its dispersion and the vicissitudes thereon ensuing—its *cosmopolitan character*.

[1] Corruptio optimi pessima !

While calling no land his own (outside Palestine) the Jew is at home in all lands. Historically, this fact has been of great importance, inasmuch as to it is largely due the fact that avenues of intercourse and trade have been opened up, or enlarged, between different countries and regions of the world. The Jew in this capacity has also been not merely a purveyor of wares, but also of ideas,[1] and has thus served in a large measure to disseminate and to stimulate some of the most important results of culture and civilization (especially medicine). With its vast experience of the world, the Jewish race has never failed to produce men of great versatility and accomplishment, who have often attained distinguished positions in diplomacy and government, as well as in art and science. The qualities which make for success in these departments of life—a certain flexibility and power of assimilating all that is best in an environment—are the natural acquirement of "the Wandering Jew."

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[1] Cf. Abrahams', *op. cit.*, p. 211 ff.

CHAPTER III.

The Sources of Judaism.

I. The Torah and other Old Testament Books.

The *Torah* ("Law"); the Prophets; the "Writings."—The Apocrypha: Historical and Pseudo-Historical Books; Prophetic Apocrypha; Didactic Apocrypha; Apocalyptic Literature in the Apocrypha.—Pseudepigrapha: Pseudepigraphic Legends; Pseudepigraphic Poetry; Didactic Pseudepigraph; Pseudepigraphic Apocalypses.—Rejection of Pseudepigrapha by Pharisaic Judaism.

[Literature:—Ryle *The Canon of the Old Testament*, especially chaps. iv-viii (1892). J. Fürst *Der Kanon des A.T. nach den Ueberlieferungen im Talmud und Midrasch* (1868). Marx (Dalman) *Traditio Rabbinorum Veterrima* (1884). W. Robertson Smith *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Lectures ii, iii, vi (1895). Schürer *The Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ* II, i, 25 (1893), and the various articles which deal with the subject in Hamburger's RE. Cornill *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* (English Trans. G. H. Box), pp. 463 ff. (1907).]

The first source of the religion of the Synagogue is, of course, the Old Testament Scriptures.[1] These the Hebrews divided into three parts:

(*a*) The "Law" or *Torah*, i.e., the five books of Moses.

(*b*) The "Prophets" or *Nebiim*, comprising:

The "Former Prophets" or *Nebiim rishonim*, i.e., the books of Joshua, Judges, 1. 2. Samuel, 1. 2. Kings;

The "Latter Prophets" or *Nebiim acharonim*, i.e., the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets, reckoned as one book.

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[1] Known also by the name of *Tenach*, i.e., TNK, an abbreviation formed by the initial letters of the names of the three divisions into which the Jews divide the Bible, (*T*orah, *N*ebiim and *K*ethubim.)

(*c*) The "Writings" or *Kethubim*, comprising:

Psalms, Proverbs, Job; these form a separate group;

Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther; these form another group, and are technically known as the five "Scrolls" or *Megilloth*.[1]

Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1. 2. Chronicles make up a third group in this division.

It is the first of these three divisions, the *Torah*, which is the main source of the Jewish Religion, the other two occupying in reality quite a subordinate position; in fact, the "Prophets" and the "Writings" are even called mere "Tradition" (*Kabbalah*), in contrast with the "Law." On the other hand, the term *Torah* is sometimes used in a wide sense to include the whole of the Old Testament, and even the whole body of religious truth and practice. In both cases the Jew conceives of the *Torah* as the dominating, the supreme factor.

The *Torah* (i.e., the "Law" of God as contained in the Pentateuch[2]) is, therefore, the real foundation of the Jewish Religion; and, as will be seen below, it provided the basis, in the form of text and commentary, of popular Jewish Homiletics[3] (See further on the *Torah*, chap. vii.).

II. Extra-Canonical Sacred Books.

[Literature:—Schürer *Op. cit.* II, iii; the articles "Apocalyptic Literature," "Apocrypha" in the JE, EB and in Hamburger's RE; for the voluminous literature on *Ecclesiasticus*, the Hebrew text, etc., see the art. "Sirach" in Hastings' *DB*; the most recent commentary

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[1] The five *Megilloth* are especially important because they are assigned, for reading, to certain Feast Days (and one Fast Day), viz., Passover, Weeks, 9th of Ab, Tabernacles and Purim.

[2] Popularly known as *Chummesh*, "Fifth" (in full, *Chamish-shah Chummesh Torah*, "the five-fifths of the law,"), in reference to the five Books of Moses.

[3] See further below, under "Midrash," ch. iv, § ii.

on this book is that of Smend (2 vols.), 1906. *The Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha* (2 vols.), London, 1888. *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A.T.* (2 vols.), ed. Kautsch, 1900. The various editions of apocalyptic books edited by Prof. Charles. A complete list and description of the literature is appearing in the various numbers of *The International Journal of Apocrypha* (with which is incorporated *Deutero-Canonica*), edited by H. Pentin. For fuller information on the separate books, see the arts, in the Dictionaries mentioned above, s.v. the names of the various books, e.g., *Tobit*, *Baruch*, etc.]

A. APOCRYPHA.

The idea of canonicity is expressed in Rabbinical language by the phrase "defile the hands." Books of canonical dignity are said to "defile the hands" (Heb. *Mĕtammĕim 'eth ha-yādāim*). Those which fall outside this category, of course, do not "defile the hands." This expression implies that the holiness of the sacred object referred to produces by contact with it a state of levitical impurity. The expression "to hide" (Heb. *lignôz*) is also used with reference to certain books of the Bible, which, though canonical, were withdrawn, for various reasons, from public liturgical use. The term *Genizāh* is applied to a room in the synagogue set apart for storing disused manuscripts of the books of the Bible [1] which had been employed in public worship and which could not be destroyed.[2] The questions raised in the Talmud as to the canonicity of certain books only concern those of the Old Testament which were ultimately admitted into the Canon. For example, in *Shabbath* 30[b] we read of an attempt to condemn as heretical, i.e., "to hide" (*lignôz*), Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, and even

[1] In the *Genizāh* were also placed heretical Hebrew books, so that it served "the two-fold purpose of preserving good things from harm and bad things from harming." *JE*, v. 612.

[2] They were sometimes buried with a Rabbi in his grave.

the book of Ezekiel has not always been above suspicion (*Shabbath* 13b.[1])

But the canon accepted in Alexandria included a number of other books which were rejected by the Palestinians, though some of these books had been originally written in Palestine; these are the so-called *Apocrypha*[2], which under this title is an integral part of the English Bible. Of these "apocryphal" books one is distinctively Alexandrine throughout, viz., the *Book of Wisdom*, a Greek composition; of the rest, the most distinctively Palestinian in character are the first book of *Maccabees* and *Ecclesiasticus* ("The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach"), both written in Hebrew originally. The Hebrew text of *Ecclesiasticus*, as is well known, has recently been almost entirely recovered and made the subject of an extensive literature.

With regard to the value of these books as "Sources" of Judaism, the last two mentioned are of special importance; the first book of *Maccabees* has a certain authority in connection with the Feast of Dedication[3] (*Chanukkah*), while *Ecclesiasticus* is also a document of high value for Palestinian Judaism; it is referred to sometimes in the Talmud, and was apparently excluded from the canon only because it was known to be a recent work (comparatively speaking) by an author not long dead.

The whole Apocryphal collection has a distinct illustrative value for the study of Judaism, as well as for

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[1] *JE*, v. 612. See further a most interesting discussion in Hölscher *Kanonisch und Apokryph*, Leipzig, 1905, noticed at length *in the Review of Theol. and Philosophy*, Vol. II. pp. 549 ff. March, 1907.

[2] The word is really a Greek equivalent of *Genizāh*.

[3] It is also known as the "Feast of the Maccabees," having been instituted by Judas Maccabæus and his brothers (see 1 Macc. 4, 36, 59). Josephus speaks of it as the "Festival of Lights" (Antiq. XII, vii, 7), on account of the lighting of lamps which formed a prominent part of the ceremony (cf. the modern Chanukkah "lamp"). In the Talmud it is called the "Feast of Illumination." (See further ch. xix.)

that of the New Testament. Such subjects, for example, as the Jewish doctrines of sin, works and free-will, and the future life, cannot be adequately studied without of reference to the Apocryphal books.

Though no entirely satisfactory system of classification has yet been devised, the books forming the Apocrypha of our Bibles may be classified as follows :—

a. HISTORICAL AND PSEUDO-HISTORICAL BOOKS.

(1) 1 *Maccabees*, containing, on the whole, a thoroughly trustworthy history ; it was written originally in Hebrew, but is extant only in Greek, and in translations made from the Greek. It gives the story of the Maccabæan revolt down to the death of Simon, thus covering the period 175–135 B.C.

(2) 2 *Maccabees*, A Greek work, ostensibly abridged from a larger work in five books by Jason of Cyrene. It partly covers the same ground as 1 *Maccabees*, but is much inferior to this in historical value.

(3) 1 *Esdras* (in the Latin Bible 3 *Esdras*) ; this is really a part of the ancient Greek version of *Chronicles* (in its complete form including *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*). It contains 1 Chron. 35—Neh. 8^{13}, but in a divergent order from that of the canonical book, and, in some respects, a more original order. The book contains some additions ; it is printed as an appendix to the official Vulgate after the New Testament, but is not recognized by the Roman Church as canonical.

(4) *The Additions*[1] *to Daniel* ; firstly, the "Story of Susannah," prefixed to the book of *Daniel* ; it is really a *Midrash* based on the meaning of the name "Daniel" (="God is my Judge"), and designed to illustrate Daniel's judicial acumen. Secondly, the "Destruction of Bel and the Dragon," appended after chap. xii ; the motive of this writing was a polemical one against idolatry. And lastly, the "Song of the three holy children," inserted in Dan. iii, between verses 23 and 24 ; it is perhaps a liturgical piece. All three additions are found in the *Septuagint* and in Theodotion's (Greek) version of *Daniel*.

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[1] It will be understood that all these additions form integral parts of *Daniel* in the *Greek* Bible, as well as in the Vulgate ; in the latter they stand in a different position, however, from that given to them in the Greek text.

(5) *The Additions*[1] *to Esther* ("The rest of Esther"); the prime object of these additions is to relieve the canonical book of Esther from its too pronouncedly secular tone.

(6) *The Prayer of Manasses*; this purports to be the actual prayer spoken of in 2 Chron. xxxiii 1 ff., and may originally have been designed to stand in that context. In many MSS. of the Greek Bible, it occupies a place among the pieces appended to the Psalms. In the Vulgate it is printed at the end of the New Testament with 3, 4 *Esdras* and, like them, is not regarded as canonical.

(7) *Judith*; this was originally written in Hebrew, but is extant only, in its longer form, in Greek or in translations from the Greek. Two recensions of the story, a longer and a shorter, have come down to us; the shorter recension exists only in Hebrew.[2] The story in its shorter form may be historical.

(8) *Tobit.* An edifying tale, with vivid pictures of Jewish piety and popular superstition. The scene is laid in the East, in Nineveh and Ecbatana. It is related to the wide-spread story of Achikar.[3]

(9) In MSS. of the *Septuagint* the book 3 *Maccabees* is found; it contains a history of the persecutions of the Egyptian Jews by Ptolemy Philopator, with an account of their steadfastness and of their wonderful deliverance by God. The book is not canonical in any part of the Christian Church.

b. PROPHETIC APOCRYPHA.

(1) *Baruch* (Five chapters); this book purports to have been written by Baruch, the son of Neraiah, a disciple of Jeremiah, after the deportation to Babylon. It is largely drawn from the Canonical *Jeremiah* and *Deutero-Isaiah*; the influence of the Wisdom literature is also apparent in chap. 3.

(2) *The Epistle of Jeremiah*; written to the Babylonian exiles; it is appended to *Baruch*, and is reckoned as the the sixth chapter of that book. It is a satirical piece directed against idolatry.

c. DIDACTIC APOCRYPHA.

(1) *The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach.* This work is

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[1] See note to *Additions to Daniel.* In the Vulgate the *Esther* additions have been separated from the body of the canonical Hebrew *Esther* and brought together in the form of an appendix, with a note to the effect that they are not found in the Hebrew.

[2] See the text and translation published by Dr. Gaster in *PSBA*, 1894, pp. 156–163.

[3] See further *The Story of Achikar*, edited by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harrison, and Agnes Smith-Lewis, London, 1898.

called *Ecclesiasticus* in the Latin Bible. It is modelled on the canonical book of *Proverbs*. The author, a native of Jerusalem, wrote in Hebrew; this Hebrew text was translated by his grandson, in B.C. 132, into Greek. The Syriac version was also made from the Hebrew text. Recently large portions of the Hebrew original have been recovered. The book is of immense importance for the study of pre-Christian Judaism, and indeed for the study of biblical literature and religion generally. Though not canonical it is largely quoted in later Jewish literature.[1]

(2) *The Wisdom of Solomon*; written in Greek, probably an Alexandrine work, and one of the most remarkable products of the "Wisdom" Literature. It shows marked traces of Greek philosophical influence, for example, it upholds the doctrine of the immortality of the soul as distinct from the resurrection of the body.

d. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE IN THE APOCRYPHA.

Only one representative of the voluminous apocalyptic literature is included in the official Apocrypha of the Old Testament, viz., 2 (4) *Esdras*. It was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic about 90 A.D.; it is strongly influenced by the book of *Daniel*; in character it is Palestinian. The figure of the Messiah, both the earthly and the heavenly, appears in really definite form in this book alone among those of the official Apocrypha. It is one of the finest of the Apocalypses.

It must not be forgotten that the books of our *Apocrypha* are not accepted by the official Judaism of the Talmud, but some of the books have always been recognized as more or less orthodox even from the strict Jewish standpoint, namely, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith* and *Maccabees*. Though uncanonical, they were "allowed," and were not included among the "external books" (i.e., books of a heretical character which are uncanonical), the reading of which is so strictly forbidden by Rabbi Akiba (*Sanhedrin* x, 1).

It is a mistake to suppose that by the "external

[1] Numerous points of contact between the books of *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom* and the New Testament have been pointed out in the Ep. of S. James; see R. J. Knowling's Commentary on this epistle, especially the notes on pp. xv, xvi, and compare Edersheim in the "Speaker's Commentary" on the *Apocrypha*, Vol. II, p. 22, also Farrar in the same work, Vol. I, p. 408.

books" mentioned in early Rabbinical literature were understood *all* apocryphal books indiscriminately; the term only included *heretical* apocryphal books. Uncanonical books like the four just mentioned were, and were regarded as, good orthodox Jewish literature.

B. PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

Under this title are included writings with false ascriptions of authorship. The *Pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament embrace a series of writings considerably more extensive than the books of the *Apocrypha* proper. Indeed, the distinction between the two classes of literature implied by the common use of the term "Apocrypha" to denote a specified number of deuterocanonical books is an arbitrary and artificial one. It is due to S. Jerome. Originally the term "Apocrypha" (="hidden," "secret") denoted the secret books or teaching current among certain religious or philosophic sects. The term is neither specifically Jewish nor Christian to start with; in the first instance it was used by the writers of the books themselves, not as a term of reproach, but of distinction. In this wider sense it naturally included the books now described as Pseudepigraphic. In the early centuries of Christianity, down to about 200 A.D., many of the apocalyptic books which were described under the general term "Apocrypha" (e.g., the book of *Enoch*) were highly regarded in Christian circles; later, in the third century, a change took place, when, under the influence of the Greek Church, the oriental element in ancient Christianity was, by gradual steps, largely eliminated [1]; under this influence much of the apocryphal (apocalyptic) literature disappeared from general orthodox use.

The works described by the general term "Pseudepigrapha" are mainly apocalyptic in character. The

[1] Cf. Prof. Burkitt's very instructive book *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904.

apocalyptic literature is distinguished broadly by some common, general characteristics.

It is, first of all, a *popular* literature; that is to say, it reflects (in literary form more or less elaborated) the thoughts of religious circles which were outside the recognized Rabbinical schools; and it embodies religious ideas which in many points conflicted sharply with the strict scholastic orthodoxy of the Pharisees. Next, it emphasized the individual side of religion equally with that of the righteous community; not the nation as such, but the community of the righteous in it—the "plant of righteousness," as the book of *Enoch* terms it—will inherit the divine reward. The exalted religious scheme which dominates these books tended to overcome national and particularistic limitations. It is, however, on the side of the Messianic hope that this literature is most significant; and here the points of contact with the New Testament are most striking and important.[1] Another noteworthy characteristic is its supernatural colouring; in place of the old antithesis, *present* and *future*, it substitutes that of *above* and *below*. It thus acquires an "other-worldliness" which was in marked contrast to the strictly practical and narrow purview of scholastic Pharisaism, and formed a distinct advance towards the lofty spirituality of the New Testament.

From what has been said it is clear that the apocalyptic literature is by no means destitute of real religious value. How is this fact to be reconciled with its pseudepigraphic character? How is the fact to be explained that the writers of these books who are obviously earnest and high-minded religious men should have consistently put forth their writings under false names—e.g., the book of *Enoch*, the testaments of the *Twelve Patriarchs*, etc? This, to us, strange procedure may largely be explained

[1] See further chap. xi on *Eschatology*.

if we remember that the apocalyptic writers almost certainly drew their material from popular tradition. Many of the ideas which receive various embodiment in this literature, were derived, doubtless, from the common stock of the popular consciousness; their ascription to or association with the great heroic figures of antiquity, like Enoch, Abraham, Isaiah, Elijah, or the twelve patriarchs, may also be a feature derived from the popular consciousness. The men who reduced the various elements to writing, or utilized them for enforcing particular religious views or lessons, may, on this view, be acquitted of any charge of fraud or dishonesty; they implicitly trusted the popular tradition so far as to believe that the ideas to which they were giving expression really did go back to the heroic figures of old. Their estimate, moreover, of the function and importance of authorship probably differed fundamentally from that of the moderns; it was far less self-conscious, and was the natural outcome of a literary modesty which was *naïve*.

To come now to details, it will only be possible here to enumerate the more important examples of pseudepigraphic literature. Though mainly apocalyptic in character, the pseudepigraphic literature also embraces other varieties of composition, which it will be convenient to classify in the following enumeration. The classification adopted is that followed in Kautsch's edition.

a. PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LEGENDS.

(1) *The so-called "Letter of Aristeas"*; this contains a legendary account, in Greek, of the circumstances under which the *Septuagint* translation of the *Torah* was composed. It purports to have been written by a heathen named Aristeas to a brother, Philocrates, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This pseudepigraph exercised a profound influence on the popular mind regarding the place, position and importance of the *Septuagint* translation. The name of this translation which has become current, namely "Septuagint" (LXX), owes its origin to this letter, according to which seventy-two (i.e. roughly

seventy) translators performed the work, six from each of the twelve tribes. Some of the details contained in the document may have a basis in fact.

(2) *The Book of Jubilees*, or "Little Genesis" (called in Syncellus the "Apocalypse of Moses"). It purports to have been given through angels to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is, however, dominated by the spirit of Pharisaic, orthodoxy, and is strongly legalistic in character, magnifying as it does the Sabbath, Circumcision, the dietary laws, the laws of purification, etc.; moreover, it is marked by the spirit of exclusiveness, and it is essentially antagonistic to Messianic-apocalyptic views. The patriarchs are represented as rabbinical examples of piety; the figure of the Messiah almost totally disappears, and the Messianic Kingdom is conceived of as the outcome of a gradual process which is bound up with a study of the *Law*. In form it is narrative, following the history given in *Genesis*, but divided into fixed periods of time or "Jubilees," hence its name.[1] It was originally written, probably, in Hebrew by a Pharisee some time between 135–105 B.C. It has survived in an Aethiopic version which was translated from a Greek version of the original Hebrew text.[2] There is also a Latin translation of the Greek. It is very far from being apocalyptic in character in the genuine sense of the term; its main object was to defend legalistic Judaism against the encroachments of the Hellenistic spirit.

(3) *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* (in five chapters), with which has been combined the *Ascension of Isaiah* (chaps. vi–xi).[3] The "Martyrdom" is a Jewish work, the "Ascension" a Christian. The "Martyrdom" is especially important for the Anti-Christ saga. It belongs, probably, to the first century A.D.

b. PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC POETRY.

The Psalms of Solomon. This is a collection of eighteen psalms, commonly called the Psalms of Solomon. They are marked by a strongly Pharisaic spirit, to some extent

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[1] The word "Jubilee" is directly derived from the Hebrew term *Jobel* which, modern scholars are agreed, has the meaning "ram" or "ram's horn." The year of Jubilee thus means literally "The year of the ram's horn"; the fiftieth year was so called because it was proclaimed by the blowing of rams' horns, see Lev. 25.

[2] Edited in an English translation with Introduction, etc., by R. H. Charles, London, 1902.

[3] The complete work has been edited in English with notes, etc., by R. H. Charles, under the title *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London, 1900.

polemical in character; they are, however, simple and straightforward compositions, and reflect a type of Pharisaic piety of a more spiritual character than in any other part of orthodox Jewish literature. The picture of the Messiah in the 17th and 18th psalms is a very fine one. These psalms exist in a Greek text which is probably the translation of a Hebrew original. They are modelled upon the psalm-poetry of the Old Testament, and may have been designed for liturgical use; they have marked affinities with the hymns in the first two chapters of S. Luke's Gospel ("Benedictus," "Nunc Dimittis," and "Magnificat"). The date of their composition is probably about 63 B.C., if, indeed, they were all composed at one time. The collection forms a highly important document for the study of pre-Christian Judaism.

It is by no means certain, however, that these psalms deserve to be classified with the pseudepigraphical literature; their claim to be the composition of King Solomon is embodied in the title only, "they contain no other certain allusion to their reputed author . . . it appears most probable that copyists or translators are responsible for having ascribed the work to Solomonic authorship." [1] The selection of Solomon's name may have been suggested by the analogous case of the canonical Psalter; just as the latter had come as a whole to be called the Psalms of David, so it seems not improbable that this secondary collection, modelled on the Hebrew Psalms, should have appropriated to itself the name of David's son, Solomon.

c. *DIDACTIC PSEUDEPIGRAPH.*

4 *Maccabees;* this work has been handed down in Greek, Latin and Syriac; it was originally composed, doubtless, in Greek. It is found in the great biblical codices, the Sinaitic and the Alexandrine, as well as in several minor Greek manuscripts. It was sometimes attributed to Josephus, and is to be found in editions of his works, as well as in editions of the *Septuagint.* The contents may be thus described: "The author tells, in an expanded form with some small variations the story told in 2 *Maccabees* of the martyrdom of Eleazar, the aged scribe, and of the mother and her seven sons under Antiochus Epiphanes, *circa* 169 B.C. In 4 *Maccabees*, however, the story is told not for itself but as the text of a sermon. "The author lays down the thesis that the reasoning part of man's nature has supremacy over its feeling and

[1] Ryle and James in their edition (Introduction, Text and English translation) of *The Psalms of the Pharisees*, p. lxi.

suffering part, and proves his point inductively by instances drawn from the history of the Maccabæan Martyrs." [1]

There is a close literary affinity between 4 *Maccabees* and 2 *Maccabees*, but both may be dependent upon the work of Jason of Cyrene as a common source.

d. PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC APOCALYPSES.

(1) *The Book of Enoch*. This is a composite work made up of elements of different dates which are themselves fragments of a much larger Enochic literature. The oldest part of the book (chaps. i–xxxvi) may have been written about the time of, or shortly after, the composition of the *Book of Daniel*. The most striking section, and most important because of its picture of the transcendental Messiah who is called "the Son of Man," is that known as the "Similitudes" (chaps. xxxvii–lxxi). Fragments of a Noachic cycle are also included in the present Book of Enoch. The entire work has for its characteristic features a strongly developed Angelology and Demonology, the doctrine and the description of the Messiah and the Messianic Age, an exposition of the secrets of the unseen world, and of celestial physics.

The book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, probably.[2] On the whole, the Book of Enoch is the most important representative of the apocalyptic literature that has survived.

(2) *The Slavonic Enoch*, or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. This was written probably in the first century A.D., originally in Greek. In general character it resembles the older Book of Enoch, but has been influenced to a larger extent by Greek thought. It belongs to Jewish, rather than to Christian literature, and is notable for its account of the seven heavens, the Millennium, and the condition of souls after death.

(3) *The Assumption of Moses*. The original language of this work was most likely Hebrew, and the book was written, it is supposed, about the beginning of the Christian Era. In its present form the work is really composite, being made up of two originally distinct books, the *Testament of*

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[1] *The Fourth Book of Maccabees in Syriac*, p. xi; edited by the late Prof. R. L. Bensly, with an Introduction by Prof. W. E. Barnes, D.D., Cambridge, 1896.

[2] A translation from the Aethiopic text into English with Introduction and Notes has been published by R. H. Charles (Oxford, 1890); recently the same scholar has published also an edition of the Aethiopic text (Oxford, 1906).

Moses and the *Assumption of Moses*.[1] It is possible that some phrases and sentences of a Greek version of this work are to be detected in Matt. 24 [29], Acts 7 [35], Jude vers. 9, 16, 18.[2] In form the book assumes the character of a prediction regarding the future history of Israel, delivered by Moses to Joshua. It is the work of a Pharisaic Quietist, according to Charles, "and forms a noble but ineffectual protest against the growing Zealotic spirit of the party. Its author was a learned Jew well versed in the Scriptures, and intimately acquainted with the history of his nation subsequent to the close of the Canon . . . though a patriot, he is not a Zealot; the duty of the faithful, he says, is not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the *Law* and prepare through repentance for the personal intervention of God in their behalf."

(4) 2 (4) *Esdras*. See under APOCRYPHA, *d*.

(5) *The Apocalypses of Baruch*.

i. The Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*;[3] originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, perhaps in the latter part of the first century A.D. It is an excellent example of orthodox Jewish thought and religious feeling as it existed at the time of the beginnings of Christianity, before the period of Talmudic Judaism had set in. In form it assumes the character of a series of visions connected by narrative. The work as it is now extant, in Syriac, is of composite authorship.[4] It is a book of the highest importance for the study of Judaism at the time of Christ and of the Apostles. It may, perhaps, be justly described as an apology for orthodox Pharisaic Judaism of the first century A.D., with an implicit polemic against Christianity. It throws a valuable light on such parts of Jewish theology as are concerned with the doctrines of the Resurrection, Original Sin and Free Will, Works and Justification, and Forgiveness.

ii. The Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch*. This is quite a distinct work from the former, and is of later origin (the latter part of the second century A.D. ?).[5] It is similar

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[1] An English translation of the whole has been published by R. H. Charles (London, 1897).

[2] See Charles *op. cit.* p. xiii.

[3] The Syriac text was first published by Ceriani (Milan, 1876–1883), who issued a photo-lithographic facsimile of the original sixth century MS., belonging to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

[4] It has been edited in an English translation by R. H. Charles (London, 1896).

[5] The Greek text was first published in 1897 by M. R. James in "Texts and Studies," vol. v. No. i, pp. 84–94 (Cambridge).

in character to the Enochic Apocalypse. Baruch is conducted through the heavens, and gives an account of the strange and wonderful sights there seen. The religious element is not prominent in the book ; it shows signs of dependence upon the Slavonic Enoch and on the earlier Baruch literature.

(6) *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* A work of the first century A.D., or possibly earlier ; written originally in Hebrew. In its present form it has been edited by Christian hands. It is a mixture of Midrash and predictive prophecy. In two of the Testaments, namely those of Levi and Naphthali, there are apocalyptic elements.

(7) *The Life of Adam and Eve* (51 chaps.) ; *The Apocalypse of Moses* (43 chaps.).[1] Legends regarding Adam and Eve seem to have been current in written form at an early date, possibly before A.D. 70. The two works here mentioned are survivals of this literature. The original language of them was probably Hebrew. Such themes as Adam in the Garden of Eden, his exile from Eden, his repentance, his illness, death, and funeral are dealt with. The Rabbinical literature often refers to legends connected with Adam ; probably all these references go back to an original popular legend. Apocalyptic elements in the strict sense of the term are not prominent ; resurrection, paradise and future bliss are, however, referred to. The books have a certain value in illustrating the Jewish doctrine of Sin.

It is interesting to recall here the fact that Golgotha, the "place of a skull" (Matt. 27^{23}, Mark 15^{22}, John 19^{17}), was so called, according to a tradition mentioned by S. Jerome and S. Basil, because the skull of Adam was preserved in this place. The legend may have been suggested by the conformation of the knoll. According to S. Epiphanius and S. Ambrose, Adam was buried at Golgotha.

(8) *The Sybilline Oracles*, especially books iii–v. A collection of material partly adapted and derived from similar heathen "Oracles," and in poetical form. This mode was adopted for the purposes of the Jewish propaganda of the Dispersion, with the object of commending the truths of the Jewish religion to pagan circles. The more strikingly Jewish portions of this collection date probably from about 140 B.C.–80 A.D. (?). Apocalyptic elements

[1] *The Life of Adam and Eve* exists now only in a Latin form ; *The Apocalypse of Moses* is extant in Greek and Armenian ; a translation of the latter into English has been published by F. C. Conybeare in *JQR* vii, pp. 216 ff. (1895).

are pronounced in book iii—they deal with such subjects as the fate of the successive kingdoms which are to bear rule over the Jews, signs of the end of the world, the day of Judgment, the blessed age to come. They display an amount of interest in the conversion of non-Jews to the Jewish religion that is unusual in strictly Jewish writers. The language of these Oracles is, of course, Greek.[1]

It is remarkable that the whole of this literature was rejected by Pharisaic Judaism. Among the teachers of the *Law* there existed a decidedly anti-apocalyptic bias; the Canon by which the line of demarcation was strictly drawn between Holy Scripture and other religious books was the invention of the Pharisees. As has already been pointed out, the apocalyptic literature was essentially of a non-scholastic character; it is, therefore, not difficult to see that the antagonism between this literature and the ideas of the teachers of the *Law* would inevitably widen as time went on. It became necessary to safeguard the position of the *Torah* by some decisive means, otherwise there was a danger that the growing popularity of the apocalyptic books might threaten to relegate the older religious literature to the background. "What availed the age of the *Torah*, which Moses had received, in face of the revelation which in the primeval period had been vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, to Noah, Enoch, and even Adam?"[2]. The apocalyptic literature itself shows traces of a certain feeling of superiority (cf. *Enoch* civ, 11–13 and especially 2 (4) Esdras $14^{14.47}$). The means adopted by the Pharisees to ward off this danger was found in the theory of the prophetic period from Moses to Ezra, during

[1] No English translation of the *Sybilline Oracles* appears to exist; for further details concerning them English readers may be referred to an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1877, pp. 31–67; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, pp. 10–17 (1897), Deane's *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 276–344 (1891), and Schürer, *op. cit.* II, iii, pp. 271–292.

[2] Hölscher *Kanonisch und Apokryph*, § v.

which alone inspiration operated [1]; all literature falling outside these limits was necessarily excluded from the Canon by this theory as uninspired, and so the books of *Enoch* and *Ecclesiasticus* (Ben Sira or Sirach) share a similar fate. The Pharisaic view was not at first so pronounced and so intense as it afterwards became; official Judaism was at first not unfriendly, and admitted the book of *Daniel*, which of course was an apocalyptic book, into the Canon. Later apocalyptic writings seem to have come altogether under the Rabbinical ban; even such, on the whole, highly orthodox and Pharisaic works as the book of *Jubilees* and the *Psalms of Solomon* seem to have incurred suspicion; the former, probably, from the tinge of apocalyptic ideas which distinguishes it, the latter perhaps because of its definite Messianic doctrine. At any rate, Pharisaic hostility or indifference can alone explain the almost total disappearance of the Hebrew (or Aramaic) originals of this extensive branch of Jewish literature. Doubtless the anti-apocalyptic tendency was later sharply increased by the growing rift between the Synagogue and the early Christian Church. The vogue of the apocalyptic literature among the early Christians has already been referred to. A possible evidence of the Rabbinical hostility is to be found in an early passage (Tos. *Shabbath* xiii (or xiv) 5), which denounces the reading of "*Gilyonim* and the books of the heretics"; it is quite possible that the word "Gilyonim" here means "Apocalypses." [2]

Though it will thus be seen that the pseudepigraphic Jewish (apocalyptic) literature has been deliberately excluded from official recognition and authority by the Rabbis, it is none the less important for the study and elucidation of Judaism. Many of the eschatological

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[1] Cf. the chapter on "Intermediate Agencies between God and Man," iii. b.

[2] Cf. in Syriac *Gelyuna de Juchanan* "Apocalypse of John."

references in the Talmud, many popular Jewish beliefs and superstitions, can only be adequately explained from the apocalyptic literature ; it is also impossible to form a just estimate of the historical position and development of Rabbinical Judaism, as well as the relations of Christianity to the latter, without taking into consideration the whole of this literature.

CHAPTER IV.

The Sources of Judaism (*Continued*).

I. The Targums.

The Targums—The Oral Tradition (the Talmudical Literature)—The Oral Law Generally—The *Mishnah*—*Tosephta*—*Baraithas*—The Talmuds—Apocryphal Appendices—Commentaries on the Talmud—Compendiums of the Talmud.

[Literature :—Schürer, *op. cit.* I, i, pp. 154–163 ; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament* (English Translation, Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 167–182 ; F. Weber, *op cit.* pp. xvi–xxiv ; *JE*, XII, pp. 57–63 (where see the literature cited at the end of the article, including the editions of the original Targum texts).

Translations into English—the three Targumim to the Pentateuch were translated into English by Etheridge, under the title *The Targums on the Pentateuch* (2 vols., London, 1862–1865) ; a translation of the Targum of Jonathan on Isaiah has been published by the "London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews," *The Chaldee Paraphrase on the prophet Isaiah*, translated by the Rev. C. W. H. Pauli (1871) ; a translation of the second Targum to *Esther* is included in Dr. P. Cassel's *Commentary on Esther*, published by T. and T. Clark.]

The *Targums*, or Aramaic translations of the Old Testament, occupy a special place in the post-biblical religious literature of the Jews, because they embody the traditional exegesis of the Scriptures. The word *Targum* means "Translation." [1] Originally the word was used to signify a translation of any sort ; for example, in the *Mishnah* the verb is used of translating into Greek ; but the name *Targum* itself acquired the restricted meaning

[1] The official translator of the Bible text who declaimed the translation orally during the Synagogue Service was called *Methurgeman* or, more briefly, *Targoman* (= the modern "Dragoman").

of a translation into Aramaic.[1] The most important rôle assigned to the *Targum* was its use in the public services of the Synagogue. When Hebrew ceased to be the common spoken language of the people and was displaced by Aramaic, there soon naturally arose the necessity of making the Hebrew Scriptures, which were read in their original language in Synagogue service, more intelligible to the congregation; hence was developed the institution of the *Targoman* or *Methurgeman*, who was usually an official of the Synagogue. In the case of the lesson from the *Law* (the Pentateuch) the *Targum* was to be read after every verse; in the case of the lesson from the Prophets (*Haphtarah*) after every third verse, three verses at a time; one person only might be employed for each. A minor might perform this duty. Usually the teacher employed by the Synagogue for giving biblical instruction (the *Sopher*) acted as *Methurgeman*.

For a long time the *Targum* was purely oral, but even so it gradually assumed a stereotyped character. The written *Targums*, though quite late as literary products, largely embody this earlier traditional material. Ultimately, from the ninth century onwards, the *Targums* fell into disuse, the reading of them in the Synagogue service almost entirely ceased. At the present time the custom survives only in southern Arabia. In Bokhara the Persian Jews read the *Targum* (with the Persian paraphrase of it) to the prophetic lesson for the last day of Passover, viz. Is. 10^{32}–12. The only books of the Bible which have no *Targum* are those of *Daniel*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which are themselves largely written in Aramaic.

The *Targums* differ considerably in character and value; that of *Onkelos* to the Pentateuch is, on the

[1] In Ezra 4^{7}, the verb occurs for the first time in reference to a document written in Aramaic, but here it was felt necessary to add the explicit statement, "in Aramaic."

whole, fairly literal, and may be regarded as a true translation; but the others are for the most part paraphrastic.

Targums to the Pentateuch.

(i) *Targum Onkelos* or the "Babylonian Targum." In the Babylonian Talmud it is said that "the Targum to the Pentateuch was composed by the proselyte Onkelos at the dictation of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua" (*Megillah* 3ª). This Onkelos is elsewhere[1] described as the pupil of Rabbi Gamaliel the elder who died shortly before the destruction of the Temple (70 A.D.), and must therefore have been alive at the time of Christ. The statement regarding the proselyte Onkelos seems to be due to an erroneous application of the tradition current in Palestine regarding Aquila's Greek Version of the Old Testament. Reference is made in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah* 71ᶜ) to the proselyte Aquila having translated the Pentateuch; the translation here referred to is, of course, the Greek one of Aquila; but in Babylonia it was misinterpreted to refer to the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, Aquila and Onkelos being a confusion of one and the same person.[2] A more correct title of this *Targum* would be the "Babylonian Targum" (*Targum Babli*); and Babylonian influence is noticeable in its language. The most probable view, perhaps, is that it is a Palestinian production, which has been re-edited in Babylon. The *Targum Onkelos* is distinguished among the Targums by its literalness; the fanciful *Haggadic* element, which is so marked a feature in the others, appears here only in a few passages, and these mainly poetic; e.g., Gen. 49, Num. 24, Deut. 32–33. Like the Targums generally, that of Onkelos shows a marked tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms and expressions that might appear derogatory to the dignity of God, e.g., for "the Lord came down" (Gen. 11²⁵) the Targum has, "The Lord revealed Himself"; the transcendence of God is emphasized by the employment of intermediate agencies like the *Memra* or "Word" of God, *Shekhina*, etc.[3] The following extracts will illustrate the character of this Targum:—Gen. 3⁸ ff.: "And they heard the voice of the word (*Memra*) of the Lord God walking in the garden in the evening of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves from before the Lord God among the trees of the garden. And the Lord God called

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[1] *Tosefta Shabbath*, c. 8.

[2] This view is, however, disputed by some scholars.

[3] See further chap. vii.

to Adam and said, Where art Thou ? And he said, the voice of Thy *Word* I heard in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I would hide." Again, Gen. 49 [1 ff.], appears as follows in this Targum : " And Jacob called his sons and said, Gather together, and I will show you what will befall you in the end of the days ; assemble and hearken, oh sons of Jacob, and receive instruction from Israel, your father. Reuben, thou art my first-born, my strength and the beginning of my power. Thine it should have been to take the three portions—the birth-right, the priesthood and the kingdom ; but because thou hast proceeded perversely, behold, as water outpoured thou shalt not prosper, neither shalt thou receive the excellent portion."

(ii) *The Palestinian Targum* (" Targum Jerushalmi "). This Targum exists in two forms, one complete and the other fragmentary. The former of these is sometimes (erroneously) called the " Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch," [1] more correctly the " Targum of pseudo-Jonathan." But besides this complete form various fragments have been handed down, many only recently recovered ; the earlier fragments are usually termed the " Targum Jerusalem." [2] This is rather a collection of heterogeneous material than an ordered work, e.g., there are sometimes different renderings of the same verse or verses. In its present form it is not earlier than the seventh century A.D. (thus, it mentions the wives and daughters of Mohammed as " daughters of Ishmael "), but it contains old traditional material, and is important for the critical study of the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan. The *Palestinian Targum* is distinguished from that of Onkelos by its markedly free and paraphrastic character ; this will appear from the following extract, viz. Gen. 18 [1 ff.] ; in the pseudo-Jonathan Targum the passage runs thus : " And the glory of the Lord was revealed to him in the valley of Mamre ; and he, being ill from the pain of circumcision, sat at the door of the tent in the heat of the day. And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, three angels in the resemblance of men were

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[1] The error arose in the following manner ; the Targum was often indicated briefly as " Targum *J* " ; the J was mistaken for Jonathan, and it was supposed that the Jonathan ben Uzziel, to whom the Targum on the Prophets is ascribed, was also responsible for this Targum on the Pentateuch.

[2] The whole has been collected and published by Ginsburger under the title " Fragment Targum " (*Das Fragmententargum*, Berlin, 1899).

standing before him ; angels who had been sent from the necessity of three things—because it is not possible for a ministering angel to be sent for more than one purpose at a time—one, then, had to come to make known to him that Sarah should bear a man-child ; one had come to deliver Lot ; and one to overthrow Sodom and Gomorrah. And when he saw them he ran to meet them from the door of the tent, and bowed himself to the earth." In the *Jerusalem Targum*, which contains the earlier fragments spoken of above, this passage is thus rendered : "Three angels were sent to our father Abraham ; and the three were sent for three things, because it is not possible that one of the high angels should be sent for more things than one. The first angel was sent to announce to our father Abraham, that, behold, Sarah would bear Isaac ; the second angel was sent to deliver Lot from the midst of the overthrow ; the third angel was sent to overthrow Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim. Therefore was there a word of prophecy from before the Lord unto Abraham the Just, and the word of the Lord was revealed to him in the valley of vision ; and he sat at the door of the tent, comforting himself from his circumcision in the heat of the day."

Probably all these Targums, including that of *Onkelos*, represent different phases of the exegesis of the Scriptures current in Palestine. The form of *Onkelos* is much earlier in date than that of the other Palestinian Targums.

The Targum to the Prophets.

Like the Targum of Onkelos the Targum to the prophetical books gained general recognition in Babylonia in the third century A.D. It is, however, originally a Palestinian production which has been revised and adapted to the Aramaic dialect of Babylon, resembling in this respect also the Targum of Onkelos. Like the latter, it owes its existence to the needs of the weekly Sabbath Synagogue Service. The prophetic lesson, which was read in Hebrew, had to be interpreted by a Methurgeman, three verses at a time, into Aramaic. This Targum owes its name to a tradition which asserts that it was composed by Jonathan ben Uzziel "from the mouths of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi" (*Megillah* 3[a]). This last statement probably means that the Targum embodies the ancient traditional interpretation of the Synagogue.

Jonathan ben Uzziel was a famous pupil of Hillel, and not improbably was responsible for an edition of the Targum which formed the basis for the present Targum on the Prophets. It forms a coherent and ordered work, and

thus presupposes a single redaction ; it is more paraphrastic in character than the Targum of Onkelos. We append a brief extract to illustrate the character of this Targum :

Is. 52^{13} ff. is thus rendered : (13) "Behold, my servant the Messiah shall prosper, he shall be exalted and extolled, and he shall be very strong. (14) As the house of Israel anxiously hoped for him many days, [the house of Israel] which was poor among the nations, their appearance and their brightness being worse than that of the sons of men ; (15) thus shall he scatter many nations ; before him kings shall keep silence ; they shall put their hands upon their mouths, for that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard they shall consider." [1]

It should be added that there are traces of a Jerusalem Targum to the Prophets (of a late date) ; it is preserved to some extent in the form of variants to the Targum of Jonathan, and also in citations, especially in Rashi and David Kimchi.

The Targum to the Hagiographa.

There is no *officially* recognized Targum to the Hagiographa as there was in the case of the Pentateuch and the Prophets ; but, nevertheless, Targums to the various books of the Hagiographa are extant. The Targums to the *Psalms* and *Job* apparently belong together, and form a separate group, distinguished by Haggadic features and by the use of the Greek word ἀγγέλος for "angel." Rome and Constantinople are mentioned in them as the two capitals of the Roman Empire, thus presupposing a date before the fall of Rome in 476. Both these Targums also show a considerable amount of independence of the Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. The Targum to *Proverbs* shows remarkable resemblances and agreements with the *Peshitta* (Syriac) Version. The Targums to the five *Megilloth*, "Scrolls" (i.e. *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*) display a marked Haggadic character, which may be due to their popular use in regard to the Festivals.[2] *Canticles* was interpreted allegorically of the relations between God and Israel. The popularity of the book of *Esther* is eloquently indicated by the fact that it has no less than three Targums. The Targum to *Chronicles*

[1] It is curious to notice that here, and all through the following (fifty-third) chapter, the passages which refer to the humiliation of the Servant are interpreted of the people of Israel, while those which speak of the glory of the Servant are referred to the Messiah.

[2] See ch. xix.

resembles the Jerusalem Targums both in its language and in its paraphrastic character.

The Targums are important not only for the light they throw on Jewish theology, but also, especially, as a *Thesaurus* of ancient Jewish exegesis; in this way they frequently offer matter of interest in relation to the Old and New Testament writings; in particular it can be shown that the New Testament often agrees with the ancient Synagogue in interpreting certain passages messianically which later were expounded differently in orthodox Jewish circles.

II. The Oral Tradition.

(The Talmudical Literature.)

[Literature: "The Talmud," an article published in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1867, by E. Deutsch, and reprinted in his *Literary Remains*, London, 1874; the articles "Talmud" in *JE* XII, pp. 1–27 (by Bacher) and in the extra volume of Hastings *DB*, pp. 57–66 (by Schechter), also, in the *E. Brit.* (by Schiller-Szinessy). Useful compendiums of information on the subject are Mielziner's *Introduction to the Talmud* (Cincinatti and Chicago, 1894), and Strack's *Einleitung in den Thalmud* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1894).

Selections from the Talmud in English: Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany* (1880); his *Treasures of the Talmud* (1882), and his *Genesis with a Talmudic Commentary* (1883). H. Polano, *The Talmud* (selections, in the Chandos Classics). Montague, *Tales from the Talmud* (London, 1906). Cf., also Schürer *HJP* I, i, pp. 117 ff.; and I. Abrahams, *Short Hist. of Jew. Lit.*, chaps. i, and iii, (London, 1906). Other literature is referred to below under the separate sections.]

A well-marked distinction is drawn in Jewish tradition between the *Oral Law*, "the Torah by mouth," which for centuries was handed down by oral tradition, and the *Written Law* or "Torah in writing" which was embodied in the canonical Five Books of Moses.[1]

[1] In Hebrew the former is styled תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל פֶּה, the latter תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָב.

The origin of the Oral Tradition, like most origins, is wrapped in obscurity. By the later Rabbis it was regarded as going back to Moses himself, as coeval with the written Law. Thus a saying attributed to R. Simeon b. Lakish runs: "What is that which is written: 'I will give thee tables of stone, and the Law, and the commandment which I have written, to teach them' (Ex. 24^{12})? 'Tables,' these are the ten words[1]; 'law,' this is the Scripture; 'and the commandment,'" that is the *Mishnah;* 'which I have written,' these are the Prophets and writings (Hagiographa); 'to teach them,' that is the *Gemara;* thus instructing us that all of these were given to Moses from Sinai." [2]

The real period of the beginnings of the traditional oral Law is no doubt to be traced from the time when the written Law, as canonical Scripture, was studied and expounded in the Synagogue. This oral tradition was in a constant state of development, being adapted, modified, and expanded from time to time to meet the varying practical needs of successive ages, and itself passing from the oral to the written. After centuries of discussion it first assumed a written form in the *Mishnah.* The earliest text-book of the oral law (compiled in its present official form about 200 A.D.). The text of the *Mishnah* in turn became the subject of interpretation and commentary in the later Rabbinical schools in Palestine and Babylonia (third to the sixth century A.D.), the results of which are crystallized in the two Talmuds. And, again, the text of the completed Talmuds has been made the subject of innumerable commentaries and discussions since.

The whole vast development of tradition was believed to be a genuine and legitimate organic evolution of the original deposit. What was originally implicit simply became explicit in the continuous process. "The

[1] i.e. the Ten Commandments.
[2] *Ber.* 5[a].

conviction was firmly held that everything wise and good, be it ethical or ceremonial in its character, whose effect would be to strengthen the cause of religion, was at least potentially contained in the Torah, and that it only required an earnest religious mind to find it there. Hence the famous adage that 'everything which any student will teach at any future time was already communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai;' or the injunction that any acceptable truth, even if discovered by an insignificant man in Israel, should be considered as having the authority of a great sage or prophet, or even of Moses himself. The principle was that the words of the Torah are 'fruitful and multiply.'" [1]

Exactly the same principle is familiar to students of Christian ecclesiastical history as the "doctrine of development."

The active work of the Jewish schools—of which the Talmudical Literature is the outcome—in the interpretation, investigation and expansion of the text of Scripture continued through many centuries, roughly from 300 B.C. to 500 A.D., nor did it cease after the close of the Babylonian Talmud. But the fixing of the latter in writing marks a well-defined period which stands out prominently in the process of development.

Of this work as a whole it should be noted that the canonical text of Scripture is always kept distinct and apart from the interpretation and amplification. The process of development is therefore clearly visible in the *form* of the literature. Another important point to remember is the line of demarcation that is drawn between the *Halakah* and *Haggadah*.[2] Under the former term

[1] Schechter, *Studies* p. 227f. This consideration will help to explain the so-called *laws given to Moses on Sinai*, of which forty-three are referred to in the Talmud. No Biblical basis is assigned for them, and they may, perhaps, emanate from the pre-Maccabean epoch.

[2] Cf. what is said on this point in ch. v.

is embraced all that belongs to the strictly legal or ritual element in Scripture, or can be deduced therefrom, including discussions of such points. But it also covers other such usages which have little or no Scriptural basis: "the term extends also to the usages, customs (*Minhāgîm*), ordinances (*Tekanôth*) and decrees (*Gezērôth*) for which there is little or no authority in the Scriptures" (Schechter). The term *Haggadah* (or *'Aggada*) which meant originally *recitation* (of the Scriptures) acquired an extended significance covering the whole field of the non-halakic part of the old Rabbinical literature, all that is spiritual and homiletical as well as all that is merely illustrative, such as stories and legends of biblical and post-biblical heroes and saints, and folklore generally. "Such topics as astronomy and astrology, medicine and magic, theosophy and mysticism, and similar subjects, falling mostly under the heading of folk-lore, pass as a rule also under the name of *Haggadah*" (Schechter).

The authorities mentioned or referred to in the earliest compilations of the Oral Law (i.e. the *Mishnah Tosefta* and *Baraitha*) are (*a*) the *Soferim* or "Scribes," (*b*) the *Zugôth* or "Pairs," and (*c*) the *Tannaim* or "Teachers." (*a*) *The Soferim* or "Scribes" were the expounders of the Law from the time of Ezra to the Maccabean period (c. 450-100 B.C.). The work of the "Scribes" is referred to somewhat indefinitely in the Rabbinical literature: "the words of the Soferim" is the somewhat vague authority cited for certain *Halakoth* of various dates.

According to some scholars the "men of the great synagogue," or "the remnants of the men of the great synagogue," are to be identified with the *Soferim*, and the synod is traditionally said to have consisted of 120 members. It is doubtful, however, whether any such assembly ever existed, though not improbably some element of historical truth underlies the tradition. To the "men of the great synagogue" many sayings, ordinances, and decrees are attributed; such as the arrangement of the

Old Testament Canon, the reading of the Law on certain days of the week, the arrangement of the daily prayers, saying of grace after meals, etc., possibly also the so-called "law given to Moses on Sinai" emanate from the Soferic age. More than a third of these "Laws"—there are forty-three altogether—refer to the preparation of the phylacteries.

The chain of tradition is described in the following classical passage from the *Mishnah* (Pirke Aboth I):

> "Moses received the Torah from Sinai, and he delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders (Jos. 24^{31}, Jud. 2^{7}) and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the *Great Synagogue*; they said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Torah."

The second of these sayings suggests that the *teaching activity* of the *Soferim* was a prominent feature.

> A careful distinction must be drawn between the later scribes, the scribes of the New Testament, and these earlier *Soferim*. In the New Testament period the term is a general one, being used to describe the professional class of the teachers of the law generally. The earlier scribes seem to have been much influenced by the exponents of the wisdom-literature, but the two classes, "Soferim," the Scribes, and the "Wise," were probably distinct in the Persian and early Greek periods, by the time of Ben Sira however the distinction had largely disappeared. (Sage and Scribe are identified in Eccles $28.^{34}$ ff. Cf. 6^{33}; 9^{14} ff, 14^{20} ff.). Probably some of the work of the earlier *Soferim* is preserved in the Canonical Scriptures, e.g. Psalm 119.

(*b*) The *Zûgôth* "pairs" (Grk. ζυγόν), an appellation given to the leading teachers of the Law from the Maccabean to the Herodian period, B.C. 150–30. According to tradition the two mentioned in each case were heads of the Sanhedrin, the one first mentioned being the President (*Nasi*) and the second the vice-president (*ab beth dîn*). There may be some truth underlying the tradition in the sense that the pairs really did stand at the head of the organized teachers of the nation, but it is doubtful whether at the time in question the Sanhedrin had

been organized in such a way as to justify the official designations given to the pairs. According to the New Testament and to Josephus, the High Priest was the *ex officio* head of the Sanhedrin. All the *Z gôth* are important, for various haggadic sayings attributed to them (cf. the *Mishnah* tractate, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," ch. i, §§ 4–15). The most important were, of course, Hillel and Shammai, the founders of the two great schools ("House of Hillel," "House of Shammai"). To Hillel are ascribed many striking sayings, among others the famous one addressed to a heathen who was seeking admission to Judaism—"What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow-man. This is the whole Torah, the rest is only commentary" (*Shabbath* 30^{b}). Hillel was the first to frame the rules of interpretation—seven—which formed the basis of R. Ishmael's thirteen exegetical rules.

(*c*) The *Tannaim*, "Teachers," a name given to the Rabbinical authorities who flourished during the first two centuries, A.D., from A.D. 10–220.

In the *Mishnah*, however, the term *Tannā* (sing.) does not occur; it was applied to the doctors of the *Mishnah* by later generations.

The *Tannaim* may be conveniently classified into four generations.

(i) *First Generation* 10–80 A.D. During this period the rival schools of Shammai and Hillel were active. The former were, on the whole, rather more strict and rigid in their interpretation of tradition. At this time also flourished Rabban Gamaliel the elder (mentioned in Acts 5$^{34\ 39}$), and Jochanan b. Zakkai, one of the leaders of the peace-party in the war against Rome (66–70 A.D.), and afterwards prominent at the academy of Jamnia.

(ii) *Second Generation*, 90–130 A.D. The most important names here are Rabban Gamaliel II (grandson of the above-mentioned Gamaliel), and his brother-in-law Eliezer

b. Hyrkanos (head of a school in Lydda). Of the younger teachers R. Tarfon, R. Jose of Galilee, R. Ishmael b. Elisha (who framed the thirteen rules of interpretation and at Usha founded a famous school of Midrash-students from which various Midrashim emanated) and R. Akiba are the most famous.

(iii) *Third Generation*, 130–160. This includes the disciples of R. Ishmael, and the younger disciples of R. Akiba (R. Meir and R. Simon b. Jochai, and R. Simon b. Gamaliel, the son and successor of Gamaliel II being the most prominent).

(iv) *Fourth Generation*, 160–220. Here the great figure is R. Judah ha-Nasi, "the Prince," called also "Our master the saint," but more usually "Rabbi" simply (without addition). He succeeded his father as Patriarch and is famous as the compiler of the *Mishnah* in its present form.

III. The Mishnah, Tosefta and Baraithas.

[Special Literature. (*a*) *Editions of the text.* The best text available is the Cambridge one edited by W. H. Lowe: *The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests* (Cambridge, 1883). The *editio princeps* is that of Surenhusius 6 vols. Amsterdam 1698–1703 (with Latin translation and commentaries). (*b*) *English Translations: Eighteen Treatises of the Mishna*, translated by De Sola and Raphall (2nd ed. London, 1845); 18 translated by J. Barclay in a vol. with the title *The Talmud* (London, 1878); Translation of the *Pirke Aboth* by Dr. C. Taylor (with valuable notes), Cambridge, 1897: (*c*) *Articles*, etc. The art. *Mishnah* in *E. Brit.* xvi. 502 (by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy), and in *JE* viii, 609–619; the art. *Tosefta* in *JE* xii. 207–209; the art. *Baraita* in *JE* ii. 513–516 (with the literature cited).]

The literary outcome of the work of the various generations of the *Tannaim* enumerated in the previous section, so far as it has survived, is embodied in the *Mishnah*, the *Tosefta*, and various *Baraithas*.

i. The Mishnah. The name "Mishnah" is derived from a verb (*shanah*) which means to "repeat," and then

"to learn" or "teach" (by repetition). It thus came to mean "teaching" (of the oral tradition).[1] It forms the main depository of the oral Law as distinguished from the text of Scripture, termed *mikra* ("reading matter").

In its final form, as compiled (apart from a few later additions) by R. Judah the Patriarch, it is divided into six main parts or *Orders* (*seder*="order"; pl. *sedarim*;) each *seder* or *order* is divided into *Tractates* (*Massektoth* pl. of *Masseketh*, Aram. *massikta*, from a verb meaning "to weave," cf. Lat. *textus*), and each *Tractate* into chapters (*perakim*, pl. of *perek* "a joint"), and each *perek* into paragraphs which are called each a *Mishnah*.

The six *Sedarim* or *Orders* are as follows:[2]

(1) *Zeraim* ("Seeds"), deals mainly with laws connected with agriculture, but opens with a tractate on Prayer (viz. *Berakoth*, "Blessings");

(2) *Moed* ("Festival"), on the Festivals, including the Sabbath;

(3) *Nashim* ("Women"), on marriage-laws mainly (but including two tractates dealing with the laws of vows);

(4) *Nezikin* ("Damages"), mainly dealing with civil and criminal law;

(5) *Kodashim* ("Holy Things"), dealing with the laws relating to sacrifices. It includes a valuable Tractate (*Middôth*) which gives the measurements of the Temple, describing its halls, gates, etc.

(6) *Tohoroth* ("Purifications"), dealing with the laws of personal and ritual purification.

The *Mishnah* is written in a scholastic form of Hebrew, developed and descended from biblical Hebrew. This

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[1] In the Church Fathers (S. Jerome, etc.) such traditions are termed δευτερώσεις "repetitions"—e.g. "I would fail to tell of the multitude of the traditions of the Pharisees, which are now called δευτερώσεις" (S. Jerome, Ep. 121). Cf. further Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 119, *et al.*

[2] They include 63 (or 60) *Tractates*.

idiom is usually styled "new Hebrew," and is essentially academic in character, though it is an organic development of the older language. The present compilation, which was redacted by R. Judah the Patriarch, is a very comprehensive one ; it embodies the main contents of the entire *Halakah* (traditional laws of ritual and religious practice), and thus includes material of various age and date. Included within it also are earlier collections.

> The earliest halakic collection was the halakic midrash and it is probably embodied in the halakic Midrashim (Mekilta, Sifra, Sifre : see chap. v). At an early period, however, the Halakah was separated from the Midrash and embodied in a distinct and independent collection. This would form the earliest Mishnah-collection (made probably by the disciples of Hillel and Shammai). The first to systematize the halakic collection was R. Akiba ; and he was the redactor of a compilation out of which the present Mishnah actually grew. His disciple R. Meir extended this, or rather compiled a collection of halakic laws of his own, as did other Tannaim. These collections were all more or less arbitrary and incomplete, and to remedy the consequent confusion and uncertainty, R. Judah undertook his collection, which has become the final authoritative one (though it is by no means free from defects) and which formed the basis for the later discussion embodied in the two Talmuds. Whether R. Judah actually reduced his compilation to writing, or whether this was only done later, is disputed. In its present form the text of the Mishnah has received additions, made after the time of Rabbi, for the sake of completeness.

From the nature of its subject-matter, the *Mishnah* is mainly legalistic in character. The phraseology is cramped, and the style very terse and compressed. Brevity of expression was aimed at (probably to assist memorizing), and a knowledge of the Scriptural texts dealing with the topics discussed is assumed, as well as of established religious customs generally. The following paragraph may serve as a sample, it is the opening one of the Tractate *Sukkah* ("Tabernacles"), in *Sedar Moed* :

> A booth (the interior of) which is above twenty cubits high is disallowed. R. Judah allows it. One which is not ten hands high, one which has not three walls, or which has

more sun than shade is disallowed. "An old booth?" The school of Shammai disallow it; but the School of Hillel allow it. What is an old booth? One that was made thirty days before the feast; but if it were made with intention for the feast, even from the beginning of the year, it is allowed.

[Here the knowledge of the duty of living in booths for seven days, in accordance with Lev. 23^{42} is presupposed.]

It would be unjust, however, to the Tannaitic Teachers to suppose that the *Mishnah* codification represents the full outcome of their interpretative powers. The hermeneutical element in the *Mishnah* is rare and small in extent. For this it is necessary to turn to the *Midrashim* in the earlier of which the *Tannaim* are to be seen at their work of biblical exegesis (see p. 55). But even in the *Mishnah* itself vivid descriptive passages are sometimes met with (though rarely) which relieve the monotony of the purely legal sections, such as the charming description of a procession of firstfruits arriving in Jerusalem (*Bikkurim*, III 2f.),[1] or the following (from *Rosh ha-Shanah* II 8):

Rabban Gamaliel had, on a tablet and on the walls of his room, sketches of the phases of the moon which he showed to ignorant witnesses and said: "Was it thus you saw her, or thus?"

ii. The Tosefta.

Under the name *Tosefta*,[2] which means "extensions," "additions," a collection of *halakoth* parallel to the official *Mishnah* has been handed down. The exact relation of this collection to the official *Mishnah* and the *Baraithas* of the Talmud (see below) is difficult to determine. It seems that the *Tosefta* is really an

[1] Summarized in Delitzsch's *Jewish Artisan Life*, chap. iv. ("A June Day in Ancient Jerusalem.")

[2] To be carefully distinguished from the *Tosafoth*, the name given to the *additions* made to Rashi's commentary on the Talmud by his disciples (hence called *Tosafists*; Rashi died, 1105). They are printed on the outer margins of the editions of the Babylonian Talmud. See below.

independent collection of the same material as that embodied in the *Mishnah;* only the *halakoth,* which have largely been abbreviated in the latter (for memorizing purposes) are here given in fuller form with additions and explanations. Consequently the material extant in the *Tosefta* is often of great critical value, being given in a more original form. Like the *Mishnah,* the *Tosefta* is divided into six *Orders* or *Sedarim.* It contains all the tractates of the *Mishnah* with the exception of *Aboth* in *Seder Nezikin,* and *Kinnim, Middoth* and *Tamid* in *Seder Kodashim.* It has formed the subject of many commentaries in Hebrew (the latest by M. Friedmann to his ed. of the Tosefta of *Seder Moed,* Part I, 1898; Part II, 1900). The Haggadic element is much more pronounced in the *Tosefta* than in the *Mishnah.*

iii. The Baraithas.

The term "Baraitha" is an Aramaic word meaning "the outside," "external" (sc. *Mishnah*) and designates "A Tannaite tradition not incorporated in the *Mishnah,*" or a collection of such. The *Baraithas* thus bear a somewhat similar relation to the *Mishnah* as that of the Apocrypha to the Canonical Books of the Bible.

The *Baraitha* sections are scattered about the Talmuds where they are easily distinguishable by the fact that they are cited in Hebrew, whereas the language of the *Gemara* of the Talmud is Aramaic.

> They are regularly introduced by the formula "our Rabbis have taught" (*tĕnô rabbānān*), or there is "a tradition" (*tanyā*), or, where an authority is cited by name, "R. So and-so taught" (*tĕnî R.*).

The *Baraithas* contain both halakic and haggadic material, and many of them represent an older tradition than that accepted in the *Mishnah,* and, in fact, one opposed to the latter (this applies particularly to the rejected halakoth of the School of Shammai). Thus the Pharisaic view of the biblical *lex talionis* was that it is applicable only

in the case of murder; other crimes could be expiated by money compensation. This is assumed by the *Mishnah* without discussion. But it appears from a *Baraitha* (*Baba Kama* 84[a]) that this principle was not recognized by the School of Shammai, and that Eliezer b. Hyrcanus "still upheld the old Sadducean view of the *lex talionis*."

A scientific collection and critical examination of this scattered material still remains a *desideratum*.

IV. The Talmuds.

[Special Literature. A Latin translation of a large part of the Palestinian Talmud is given in Ugolini, Vols. XVII, XX, XXV and XXX. A complete translation into French has been published by Moses Schwab (Paris, 1871 and following years); and an English translation of Schwab's first volume (Berakoth) appeared in 1885. The Haggadic portions are given in Wünsche *Der jerusalemische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen* (Zurich, 1880).

An edition of the Babylonian Talmud (Hebrew text and German translation) is in course of publication: edited by L. Goldschmid. The Haggadic passages have been translated by Wünsche, *Der babylonische Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen*, etc., 2 vols. (1886–1888). Translations of single Tractates have appeared in Latin, German, French, and English. In English, the treatise *Chagigah* translated with introduction, notes, glossary and indices, by Rev. A. W. Streane (Cambridge, 1891).]

With the compilation of the official *Mishnah* of Rabbi the work of the Jewish Schools did not cease. On the contrary, the text of the *Mishnah* became the basis for further juristic discussion and amplification, the outcome of which was the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds.

The Rabbinical authorities who were engaged in this work, and who were active both in the schools of Palestine and Babylonia from 220 to 500 A.D. bear the generic designation of *Amoraim*, "Speakers" or "Interpreters."

During this period famous Rabbinical academies existed not only in Palestine (Tiberias, Sepphoris, Cæsarea); but also in Babylonia (Nehardea, Sura, and later at Pumbeditha).

The Palestinian Amoraim who had been ordained [1] by the Patriarch (*Nasi*) bore the title of Rabbi ; those of Babylonia who had received ordination bore the title of Rab.[2]

" The main object of the lectures and discussions " which took place in the Palestinian and Babylonian Schools during this period, " was to interpret the often very brief and concise expression of the Mishnah, to investigate its reasons and sources, to reconcile seeming contradictions, to compare its canons with those of the Baraithoth, and to apply its decisions and established principles to new cases not yet provided for " (Mielziner, *op. cit.* p. 40). The Amoraim were not independent authorities like the Tannaim, having no authority to contradict what was accepted in the Mishnah and Baraithoth. The Talmud, however, in cases of disagreement, sometimes sides with the latter against the former.

The most important of the *Amoraim* (of whom several hundreds are mentioned in the Talmud) are the following (classified into five generations) :

(i) *First Generation* (220–280) : (*a*) *Palestine ;* R. Chiyya and his disciple R. Hoshaiah (the traditional compilers of the *Tosefta*). Hoshaiah had an academy (*yeshibah*) for many years at Sepphoris and afterwards at Cæsarea, and was a famous teacher. His name is associated particularly with Haggadic interpretations of Scripture, and he seems to have been engaged in frequent discussion with Christians in Palestine, especially, it has plausibly been supposed, with the famous Church Father Origen.[3]

R. Jochanan (bar Nappacha) established a great school at Tiberias, which became the principal centre of learning in Palestine. He is often mentioned in the Talmud (usually as R.

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[1] Ordination (in the earlier period by " laying on of hands " *semikath yadaim*) was confined to Palestine and the Patriarch.

[2] The title " Rabban " is superior to both " Rabbi " and " Rab," being confined to the Patriarchs and heads of the Sanhedrin, e.g., " Rabban Gamaliel."

[3] Origen was ordained presbyter at Cæsarea in 228, opened his famous philosophical and theological school there in 231, and died at Tyre, 254.

Jochanan), and may be regarded as the leading *Amora* of Palestine. He seems to have laid the foundations of the Palestinian Talmud; he died c. 279.

(*b*) *Babylonia*: Abba Arika, the chief Babylonian *Amora*. He is usually called by way of distinction "Rab" (i.e., the teacher *par excellence*, cf. "Rabbi," similarly of R. Judah the Patriarch). In his youth he went to Palestine with his uncle R. Chiyya (mentioned above) and became a distinguished pupil of Rabbi Judah the Patriarch. After the latter's death he returned to Babylonia and founded, in 219, the school in Sura, which was attended by 1,200 pupils. Over 100 of his disciples are mentioned in the Talmud by name.

(ii) *Second Generation* (280–300). (*a*) *Palestine*. R. Eleazar b. Pedath, generally referred to as R. Eleazar, and R. Abbahu, a native of Palestine. The latter was a man of wealth and wide culture (a good Greek scholar). He taught at Cæsarea where he was a *persona grata* with the Roman officials, and was frequently engaged in controversy with Christians.

(*b*) *Babylonia*: Rab Huna (born 212, died 297), a disciple of Rab; R. Judah (b. Jecheskel), generally referred to as Rab Judah. He founded the academy of Pumbeditha.

(iii) *Third Generation* (320–370). (*a*) *Palestine*. During this period the Palestinian schools fell into complete decay owing to the persecuting policy of the Emperors Constantine and Constantius.

(*b*) *Babylonia*: Rabba bar Huna (the son of Rab Huna, disciple and successor of Rab); Rabbah bar Nachmani (called in the Talmud simply Rabbah), famous for his dialectical powers, in allusion to which he was called "uprooter of mountains."

(iv) *Fourth Generation* (375–427) [entirely Babylonian]. Rab Ashi was made president (at the age of 20) of the re-opened Academy of Sura, and held office for 52 years. Under him Sura regained its former fame as a seat of learning. So great became Ashi's authority that he was called by contemporaries *Rabana* "our teacher." He began the task of compiling, sifting and arranging the material which was afterwards embodied in the Babylonian Talmud (*Gemara*).

(v) *Fifth Generation* (Babylonian) (427–500). During the period of this generation the academies of Sura and Pumbeditha were active; under Rabba Thospia (or Tosfaah) and Rabbina (contraction of Rab Abina), heads of the Sura-Academy, the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, begun by Rab Ashi, was brought to a close, and the whole reduced to writing. With the death of Rabbina in 499 the line of the *Amoraim* came to an end.

The finishing touches to the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud were given by the so-called *Saborai* "Explainers." They were responsible for the final redaction of the text. A mediæval Jewish authority says: "They have added nothing of their own to the Talmud, nor have they expressed any divergent opinions, merely determining the arrangement of the text of the Talmud in all its chapters." The Babylonian teachers to whom the designation "Saborai" is applied were the heads of the academies at Sura and Pumbeditha between 500 and 540. There was no corresponding class of teachers in Palestine.

THE TWO TALMUDS.

The literary results of the work of the Palestinian and Babylonian Schools sketched above is mainly embodied in two works which respectively bear the title of *Talmud of Jerusalem* or more correctly *Talmud of the Land of Israel* (Palestinian Talmud),[1] and the *Babylonian Talmud*.[2]

[1] Also "Gemara of the people of the West."
[2] Once called "Talmud of the people of the East."

The name "Talmud" means primarily "teaching," "doctrine" [it also bears the meaning "learning" (learning acquired by study) in some early passages]. A further development of the meaning (especially in the phrase *talmud lomar*) was instruction by means of the text of Scripture, and exegetic deductions therefrom. This again was applied to the special elucidation of a Halakah from the text of Scripture ("the exegetic confirmation of the Halakah"). In the Talmud itself the word is applied to the discussions of the Amoraim as distinguished from the Mishnah text which formed the basis of such discussion. Finally, it was used to designate the entire text, Mishnah included. After this usage had become established apparently the two component parts of the Talmud text were distinguished as *Mishnah* and *Gemara* (= ? completion), but the latter term is post-Talmudic (according to Bacher *Gemara* means not "completion," but *learning*, especially that transmitted to scholars by tradition).

The Palestinian Talmud was completed some time in the fourth century, about a century before the Babylonian Talmud, but by whom it was compiled is unknown. It apparently was not subjected to a final revision, and has reached us in an incomplete form. Possibly, however, some portions have been lost. In its present form it covers only thirty-nine [1] of the sixty-three tractates of the *Mishnah*, and in some parts of these the *Gemara* is incomplete. The non-Hebrew portions of the text are written in a form of Western Aramaic which is almost identical with that used in the early Palestinian midrashic works. It is interesting historically (as well as linguistically) as representing in one of its phases the popular language of Palestine. The Palestinian Talmud is especially rich in haggadic material.

The compilation of the *Babylonian Talmud*, as we have seen, was practically finished at the end of the fifth century. Here again the *Gemara* is incomplete, only thirty-seven tractates of the *Mishnah*-text being commented on.

[1] All the tractates of the *Orders*, Zeraim, Moed, Nashim, and Nezikin (except Eduyoth and Aboth) are included; but none in Kodashim and Teharoth (except Niddah) are dealt with.

The earliest complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud (*Talmud Babli*) was printed at Venice (1520–1523) by Daniel Bomberg, and has been made the basis of the many later editions. This, the *editio princeps*, has also largely determined the external form of all later editions. Together with the text of the Talmud proper it gives on one margin the commentary of Rashi, on the other the *Tosafoth* and kindred matter. "Especially noteworthy is the fact that the first edition of Babli has a pagination which has been retained in all subsequent editions, thus rendering it possible to quote passages with exactness, and to find citations readily" (Bacher).

It is usual to cite the two Talmuds as *T.J.* (=Talmud of Jerusalem) and *T.B.* (=Talmud of Babylon). In the case of the latter a citation from the Gemara is fixed by the page, which, as explained, is identical in all editions (the two sides of each leaf are regarded as one page, and are numbered *a* and *b*). Thus *T.B. Berak*, 29^b means that the reference will be found in the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud to the tractate Berakoth on the second side of the folio (or page) numbered 29. In the case of the *Palestinian Talmud* the citations are usually made by the mishnaic chapters each of which together with the Mishnah-text contains immediately following the corresponding Gemara, divided into paragraphs (usually styled "Halakah 1, 2, 3, etc.").

It may be added that the Mishnah text (as distinguished from the Gemara) is cited according to chapter and paragraph. E.g., "*Ber.* VI. 2" shows at a glance that the Mishnah (not the Gemara) is referred to; and that the 6th chap. of *Berakoth*, the 2nd par., is intended.

The differences between the two Talmuds are not inconsiderable. There is first of all the difference of language. The non-Hebrew parts of the Palestinian Talmud (as has been pointed out already) are written in a western Aramaic dialect; those of the Babylonian in an East Aramaic idiom closely related to Syriac and Mandaic. The style is also marked by differences. The discussions given in the Palestinian are more brief and condensed than those of the Babylonian; there is also less casuistic discussion of purely hypothetical cases in the former than in the latter. On the whole, the Palestinian is

decidedly more simple and direct in statement. Though two more tractates (thirty-nine) are commented on in the Palestinian than in the Babylonian (thirty-seven) the bulk of the latter is three times as great as that of the former. Though many authorities are cited equally in both, neither Talmud directly quotes from the other. Owing to the fact that Rabbinical studies maintained themselves in Babylonia, while the Schools of Palestine and the Palestinian Jewish communities fell into decay, the study of the Babylonian Talmud has been largely cultivated among the mediæval and later Jewish communities, while the Palestinian was generally neglected. It was, as a rule, known only to special scholars among the Rabbis. In modern times scholars have devoted—and are still devoting—much attention to the investigation of it. But the Babylonian Talmud remains *the Talmud par excellence* for the mass of orthodox Jews.

As regards its general character the Talmudic literature is distinguished by certain striking features and peculiarities which call for mention in passing. The language in which the discussions are set forth is bald and concise often to obscurity. Abbreviations are largely employed. Allusions to religious customs, texts, etc., are briefly made, and knowledge presupposed on the part of the reader, which are by no means self-evident to non-Jewish readers. There is no attempt, either, at rhetoric or fine writing. Consequently the task of translating is often impossible—only a liberal paraphrase can be employed. As the discussions are usually in the form of debate—question and answer, argument and counter-argument, which have no distinguishing external indication, have to be allowed for. The discussions, too, are often difficult to follow, no logical connexion being apparent. This characteristic has been well set forth by Deutsch: "Schooled in the harmonizing, methodizing systems of the West—systems that condense and arrange and classify and give everything its fitting place and its fitting position in that place—

he [the Talmudic student] feels almost stupefied here. The language, the style, the method, the very sequence of things (a sequence that often appears as logical as our dreams), the amazingly varied nature of these things —everything seems tangled, confused, chaotic." Often the connexion, such as it is, is to be found not in the subject-matter but in the authority cited. In estimating the Talmud, and indeed Jewish Literature generally (including the Old and a large part of the New Testaments), it must never be forgotten that we are dealing with *oriental* books.

The only complete MS. of this Talmud is at Munich (written at Paris in the year, 1369). The text of the later editions (that of Basel, 1578–1581) has suffered from the censorship. Words or expressions supposed to be offensive or hostile to the Christian religion were altered or deleted.

V. Apocryphal Appendices to the Talmud.

The following tractates, forming a sort of apocryphal collection, are usually appended to the editions of the Talmud. Nos. 1 and 2 are of considerable value historically and in other ways.

1. *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, forming a kind of Tosefta-text to the Mishnah-treatise *Pirke Aboth*. The ethical *dicta* of the latter work are here expanded and illustrated. The R. Nathan to whom this work is attributed belonged to the fourth generation of the *Tannaim* (160–220), but the present book is post-Talmudic. The work is divided into forty-one chapters, and is written in new Hebrew. A critical edition was published by Schechter in 1887; and a German translation (*Rabbi Nathan's System der Ethik und Moral*) by Kaim Pollak in 1905 (Frankfort-on-the-Main).
2. *Soferim* ("the Scribes"); a tractate in twenty-one chapters containing rules for the writing of the Pentateuch scrolls, as well as massoretic and liturgical rules. The liturgical matter is of great

interest and value (best edition that of Dr. Joel Müller in 2 vols. [crit. Heb. text with elaborate notes in German], Leipzig, 1878).

3. *Ebel Rabbati*: a treatise on mourning, also called (euphemistically) *Semachoth*, "Joys." It is divided into fourteen chapters, and deals with mourning and burial customs and rules.
4. *Kallah* ("*Bride*"), a minor tractate, consisting of one chapter, dealing with the obligation of chastity in marriage and generally.
5. *Derek Eretz* ("Conduct of Life"), a tractate consisting of eleven chapters, dealing with ethical, social and religious themes.
6. *Derek Eretz Suta* ("The conduct of Life, minor treatise"), in ten chapters of much the same character as the preceding.
7. *Perek ha-Shalom* ("Chapter on Peace"), consists of one chapter which deals with the importance of peacefulness.

All the above are appended to the Talmud in the printed editions. Besides these, seven minor tractates were published by Raphael Kircheim, from an ancient MS., in 1651 (Frankfort on the Main).

VI. Commentaries on and Compendiums of the Talmud.

The difficulties which beset the student of the Talmud will have been made sufficiently evident from what has been already said above. These difficulties have been felt by Jewish students, and have given occasion for the production of numerous commentaries. A very full list of these will be found in the art. *Talmud Commentaries* in the *JE* (xii, 27–30). Only a few of the more important can be mentioned here. In the latest and best complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud (the Wilna edition of the Widow and Brothers Romm, published 1880–1886 in 25 vols.) a considerable number

of commentaries are printed: among others that of *Rabbenu Chananel* (ר"ח) of Kairowan (Africa) who flourished about 1050, and who commented on a large part of the Talmud. But by far the most important is the commentary of "the prince of commentators," Rabbi Solomon Isaaki of Troyes (1040–1105), usually called from the initials of his name *Rashi*—whose work covers the greater part of the text of the Babylonian Talmud. Without Rashi's commentary and its supplements any edition of this Talmud-text would be incomplete.[1] It has been well described as "a true model of concise, clear, and systematic commentation. By a few plain words it often sheds light upon the obscurest passages, and unravels the most entangled arguments of the Talmudical discussions. As if anticipating the slightest hesitation of the inexperienced student, it offers him at once the needed explanation, or at least a hint that leads him in the right way. It has truly been said that but for this peerless commentary of Rashi, the Babylonian Talmud would have remained as neglected as the Palestinian. An additional merit. . . is . . . that it very often establishes the correct version of the corrupted Talmud text" (Mielziner).[2] Supplements and additions to Rashi's commentary were made by relatives and disciples.

In addition to Rashi's work, which is printed in the inner margins, the editions of the *Babli* also have a collection of annotations and glosses, which are printed on the exterior margins, and are called *Tosafoth* (*Additions*). These do not form a running commentary (like Rashi's), but are separate notes. The authors of these additions, who were numerous, are called *Tosafists* (Heb. *Ba'alê tosafôth*). They flourished in France and Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Commentaries

[1] It is unfortunate that Goldschmid's text and (German) translation, now appearing, are printed without Rashi's commentary.

[2] See, for an excellent account of Rashi's Talmudic commentaries (with illustrative extracts), Liber's *Rashi* (London, 1906), p. 135 f.

were also written on the *Mishnah* as an independent work. The best known complete one on the entire *Mishnah* is that of Maimonides (commenced in the 23rd year of his age in Spain, and finished in his 30th year in Egypt). It was written in Arabic, but has been translated into Hebrew by several hands, and this Hebrew translation is usually printed in editions of the Talmud. Another noteworthy commentary covering the whole *Mishnah* is that of R. Obadiah of Bertinoro in Italy, who was Rabbi in Jerusalem in the sixteenth century (died 1510). It was written in Hebrew and is usually appended to separate editions of the Hebrew text of the *Mishnah*. Latin translations of this and of Maimonides' commentary are printed in the edition of Surenhusius. Those tracts of the *Mishnah* for which no Babylonian *Gemara* exists and on which consequently Rashi did not comment, have also been frequently annotated by distinguished Rabbis; notably by R. Simson of Sens (twelfth century), a famous *Tosafist*, and by R. Asher b. Jechiel (thirteenth century).

Various Rabbinical commentaries also exist on the Palestinian Talmud, which do not call for further mention here.

As the Babylonian Talmud was regarded as the source of binding Rabbinical law for the regulation of the religious life, it was inevitable that various compendiums and codifications of it should be made for purposes of convenience. In such, haggadic and other unnecessary elements were omitted, as well as the long legal discussions. The codes aimed at presenting the legal material in a more systematic form.

The most important compendiums are one by *R. Isaac Alfasi*, usually cited as *Alfasi* or from the initial letters of his name as "Rif" (born 1013, died 1103), and one by *R. Asher b. Jechiel* (died 1327). This compendium is usually added to each tractate in printed editions of the Talmud (under the title רבינו אשר).

The codification of the Talmudic law was accomplished by Maimonides in the twelfth century, in a large work entitled *Mishneh Torah*, "Repetition of the Law." It is written in new Hebrew, and is divided into fourteen books; hence its popular name *Sefer ha-Yad* (the Hebrew letters ד י numerically = 14), and later by way of distinction, *Yad ha-chazakah*, "The Strong Hand." Various commentaries and annotations were produced later on this work, and are usually printed with it.

Another important codification bears the name of *Turim* (="Rows" i.e., rows of Laws). It was compiled by R. Jacob, son of the well-known R. Asher b. Jechiel, referred to above, and is divided into four parts, viz., *Tur Orach Chayyim*, dealing with liturgical laws; *Tur Yoreh Deah*, dealing with the ritual laws; *Tur Eben Ha-Ezer*, dealing with the marriage laws, and *Tur choshen mishpat*, treating of the civil laws. The *Turim* differ from the *Mishneh Torah* in so far as the aim of the former compilation is a strictly practical one. It restricts itself to laws actually in practice at the time, all that had become obsolete being disregarded. In accordance with this practical purpose post-Talmudic laws and customs are also embodied.

The printed editions of *Turim* are usually provided with commentaries by R. Joseph Karo (this commentary is called *Beth Joseph*) and by R. *Moses Isserles* (*Darke Mosheh*).

The most famous of the codifications, and the one most extensively used by the Jews, is the *Shulchan Aruk* ("Prepared Table") of the R. Joseph Karo (sixteenth century), already mentioned as a commentator on the *Mishneh Torah* and *Turim*. Taking the latter work with his own accompanying commentary as a basis, and retaining its four divisions (with their titles) and general arrangement, he remodelled the entire contents so as to give the work the character of a law-book. By strict orthodox Jews this Code has been regarded as

authoritative since it was first promulgated. In connexion with its text numerous commentaries and glosses have been produced.

Of *Haggadic Collections* from the Babylonian Talmud, the most popular and comprehensive is the *En Jacob* (עין יעקב = "Well of Jacob") of R. Jacob ibn Chabib (beginning of sixteenth century). A similar collection was made from the Palestinian Talmud, which was published, with a commentary, by R. Samuel Jafe (Vienna, 1590; reprinted Berlin, 1725–6) under the title *Yefeh Mar'eh* (יפה מראה).

CHAPTER V.

The Sources of Judaism (*Concluded*).

The Midrashim and the Prayer-Book.

The *Midrashim: Midrash Halakah* and *Midrash Haggadah*—The *Halakic Midrashim*—The *Haggadic Midrashim* on the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls—The Homiletic *Midrashim* on the Lections—Other *Midrashim*—Characteristics of the Midrashic Literature—New Testament Illustrations—The Prayer Book—*Ashkenazim* and *Sefardim*—Prayer Book Compilations—Appendix: Later Sources.

[Literature (for the Midrashim):—The principal authority is Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed. 1892 (passim).

The following may be consulted in English. The Artt. *Midrash* in the *E. Brit.* by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, and *Midrash Haggadah* in *JE* VIII (which has been cited several times below): also I. Abrahams, *A Short History of Jewish Literature* (1906), ch. iv ("The Midrash and its Poetry"); and S. Rapaport, *Tales and Maxims from the Midrash* ("The Semitic Series," published by Routledge, London, 1907).]

I. Introductory.

Another branch of Rabbinical Literature which is closely associated in some of its characteristic forms with the text of the Bible is the *midrashic*. The term "midrash," which already occurs in the Bible (cf. 2. Chron. 13^{22}, 24^{27}), denotes "exposition," "exegesis," especially of an edifying and moralizing character. It is carefully distinguished from the mere literal sense, which is technically termed "pĕshat" (lit. "simple)." [1]

The Midrashic Literature may broadly be distinguished into two classes, according as it is of a *legal* character, dealing with matters of binding law in a strict legalistic spirit (*Midrash Halakah*), or of a *freer and more edifying*

[1] Cf., the common name of the Syriac version of the Bible, "Peshitto."

tendency, with stories and illustrative matter drawn from popular custom, tales, and beliefs (*Midrash Haggadah*). By far the larger proportion of this literature belongs to the latter category. Here it covers a wide range and received a rich development, embracing not merely the interpretation of the non-legal parts of Scripture, but also their amplification and illustration generally. It covers everything, in fact, that is not included in or connected with the *Halakah*. Finally, its close application to the text of Scripture became a subordinate feature and it assumed the form of finished discourse (homily).

The term *Halakah* = "rule," "binding law," and is applied to the legal element in the oral law and the Rabbinical discussions and decisions dependent on it, especially as embodied in the Mishnah, the Talmuds and the compendiums of Rabbinic Law based thereon (like the *Shulchan Aruk*).[1] The term *Haggadah* = "narration," "telling," and "means primarily the recitation or teaching of Scripture; in a narrower sense it denotes the exegetic amplification of a Biblical passage and the amplification of a new thought based thereupon." [2] The term soon became used in a general sense to embrace the whole mass of non-halakic interpretation generally; "maggid" (a term connected with *Haggadah*) was applied to the preacher who delivered homiletical discourses in the synagogue of a haggadic nature. The characteristic features of this kind of oratory have been well summed up by Zunz: "The Haggadah, which is intended to bring heaven down to the congregation, and also to lift man up to heaven, appears in this office both as the glorification of God and as the comfort of Israel. Hence religious truths, moral maxims, discussions concerning divine retribution, the inculcation of the laws which attest Israel's nationality, descriptions of its past and future greatness, scenes and legends from Jewish history, comparisons between the divine and Jewish institutions, praises of the Holy Land, encouraging stories, and comforting reflections of all kinds form the most important subjects of these discourses." [3] This haggadic literature thus constitutes a thesaurus of the highest and deepest thoughts of the Jewish teachers on religion and ethics, embodied in popular form. It should be added here that one controlling motive and feature of *Midrash*, which

[1] See § vi of ch. iv above.
[2] *JE* VIII, p. 550 (*s.v. Midrash Haggadah*).
[3] Cited *ibid.*

literally means "investigation," was to investigate and elucidate, by all exegetical means at command, all possible hidden meanings and applications of Scripture. For the methods employed see the art. *Talmud Hermeneutics* in *JE* XII, 30 ff.

Midrashic material has received various embodiment in the Rabbinical collections enumerated below. Midrashic elements can already be detected in the text of Scripture itself. The chronicler cites as one of his sources a "*Midrash* [*E.V.* "commentary"] of the book of Kings" (2 Chron. 24^{27}), and the books of Chronicles exhibit many of the characteristic features of Midrash proper, as can be seen by comparing the parallel narratives contained in *Chronicles* and the earlier historical books (*Samuel* and *Kings*). In the work of the Chronicler we have to deal "with a very free treatment and exposition of old traditional material, the object of which is not so much to narrate history as to conduce to religious edification." [1] These midrashic features, it may be added, were probably already developed in the sources used by the Chronicler, and may not primarily be due to the latter. They are the outcome of a process which had been going on for some time, and by which the traditional history of the People of Israel became transformed into the history of a church. There is not, however, any cogent reason for doubting the good faith of the writers who took part in this development. It must be regarded, rather, as the result of the reflex action of the religious institutions which are embodied in the Priestly Code of the Hexateuch, and which had become established as binding custom and invested with antique sanctions. This midrashic tendency finds full expression, as might be expected, in the Books of the Apocrypha and in the pseudepigraphic literature of Judaism generally. A good example is to be seen in the apocryphal book of *Susanna*. This is really

[1] Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*. *ET*, p. 237 (Williams & Norgate, 1907).

a midrashic narrative suggested by the meaning of the name Daniel (="EL (God) is my *judge*"), as indeed the alternative title of the book found in some Greek MSS., *Judgment of Daniel*, may indicate. In the *Book of Jubilees*[1] (second century B.C.) we have "an extreme product of the midrashic process," already apparent in the work of the Chronicler. The author of *Jubilees* "sought to do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings." He re-wrote the Biblical Book of Genesis from the standpoint of later Pharisaism. He glorifies the Law and such ordinances as Circumcision and the Sabbath; he insists on the separation of Israel from the Gentiles, and represents the Patriarchs as models of Rabbinical piety (see Charles' Introduction to his ed. §§ 14 and 15). Midrashic tendencies can also be detected in certain books of the New Testament (see § 3 of this chapter below).

In forming an estimate of this literature it is necessary to remember a point which has been admirably put by an English commentator on the Apocrypha, the Rev. C. J. Ball: "We have to bear in mind," he says, "a fact familiar enough to students of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, . . . the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine, not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to arouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or

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1 *The Book of Jubilees*, translated into English by R. H. Charles (London, 1902). *Jubilees*, according to Charles, was originally written in Hebrew by a Pharisee, an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, between 135 and 105 B.C. It exists in an Ethiopic text. See p. 36.

fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value. To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity." [1]

II. The Principal Rabbinical Collections of the Midrash.

The Midrashic literature of Rabbinical Judaism has been embodied in various collections of various date and value. The more important of the Midrashim we here proceed to enumerate.

A. The Halakic Midrashim.

1. *The Mekilta*, lit. "measure," "rule," a Midrash to Exodus, from ch. 12 to 23^{19}, with the addition of two short comments on 31^{12-17} and 35^{1-3} (the law of the Sabbath). Hebrew text (with introduction and notes in Hebrew) edited by I. H. Weiss (Vienna, 1865) and by M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1870).
2. *The Sifra*, lit. "the Book" (or *Torath Kohanim*, "Law of Priests") on Leviticus. Hebrew text with notes by I. H. Weiss (Vienna, 1862).
3. *The Sifre*, lit. "Books" on Numbers 5 to end, and the whole of Deuteronomy. Best ed. of the Hebrew text (with introduction and notes in Hebrew) that of M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1864).

A Latin translation of these three works is given (with Hebrew text) in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, Vols. XIV, XV (Vienna, 1752), but is more or less useless. No other translation has yet been published.

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[1] Introduction to *The Song of the Three Holy Children* in the Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha, Vol. II, p. 307.

This group is of first-rate importance. In their original form these Midrashim go back to the earlier part of the second century, A.D. (to a time anterior to the Bar-Kokba revolt, 132-135 A.D.). The disciples of Rabbi Jochanan b. Zakkai, viz., Ishmael, Akiba and Eleazar of Modin,[1] appear to have redacted the principal contents of the exposition on the basis of the still older and anonymous stratum of the exegetical tradition. It is true, teachers are mentioned who lived till the last quarter of the second century, but rarely, and usually with indications of the previous existence of the comment for which they are made responsible.

The *Mekilta* embodies the tradition mainly of R. Ishmael's School; *Sifra* (on Leviticus) that of the School of R. Akiba with additions from the School of R. Ishmael; *Sifre* (on Numbers and Deuteronomy) is also a composite work like *Sifra*, going back mainly to the schools of R. Akiba and R. Ishmael.

In their present final form all three works, after being brought from Palestine to Babylonia, were edited in the Babylonian Schools (fourth to fifth century A.D.). *Sifre* on Deuteronomy is akin to the *Mekilta*, while *Sifra* (on Leviticus) and *Sifre* on Numbers are more controversial in tone.

The importance of these collections for the student of the New Testament is very considerable. A large part of the material embodied in them goes back to the time of the Apostles' contemporaries and gives us an insight into the spiritual forces that affected the Jerusalem of the first Christian century. The most valuable collection of material from every point of view is undoubtedly that embodied in *Mekilta*.

The striking essay of Schlatter (*Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten*, 1902) brings out in detail the parallelism that exists between the language and phraseology of the Fourth Gospel and that of earlier Jewish exegesis, as

[1] These Rabbis flourished about 120–140 A.D.

embodied mainly in these works: e.g., the phrase "every man that cometh into the world," John 1^{9}, has its analogue in a regular and recurring phrase that occurs in Mekilta Sifra and Sifre, viz., "all who come into the world"; "Thou art deliverance for *all who come into the world*, but especially for Israel" (Mek. to Ex. 15^{2}), may be instanced. The phraseology of the Fourth Gospel is Jewish through and through.

All three midrashim are halakic in character, but with a considerable admixture of haggadah.

The halakic midrashim may be regarded as the result of an attempt on the part of the teachers of the Law to justify in a popular way, Halakah or traditional rules and laws of life and ritual against the objections of the Sadducees by deducing them from the text of Scripture.

"The Talmud does this in the form of a commentary on the Halakah; it takes tradition by tradition and seeks a Biblical basis for each. In the halakic Midrash, however, another course was adopted. A running commentary was compiled to the legal parts of the Pentateuch; verse by verse the halakah was derived from the text." [1]

One or two examples will serve to illustrate the character of these commentaries. An instance of halakic Midrash occurs in the Mekilta on Ex. 20^{25}: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build *it* (an unusual form of the objective pronoun is used here in the Hebrew text) of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy iron tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." The Midrash here emphasizes the unusual form of the objective pronoun "*it*," and deduces the conclusion that the prohibition of hewn stones is restricted to the altar only, but in building the Temple such stones may be used. Further—and this is an instance of haggadic Midrash—the Midrash goes on to explain "why the application of iron is here called a pollution of the altar; it is because iron abridges life, while the altar prolongs it, iron causes destruction and misery, while the altar produces reconciliation between God and man; and therefore the use of iron cannot be allowed in making the altar." [2] The following is translated from Sifra on Lev. 19^{17-18}: '*Thou shalt not be resentful.* What is meant by being resentful? When one

[1] Abrahams, *A Short History of Jewish Literature* (1906), p. 30.
[2] Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (Chicago, 1894), p. 119.

person says to another, "Lend me your axe," and he will not lend it; then on the following day the latter says to the former, "Lend me your sickle," whereupon he says, "Here it is; I am not like you who refuse to lend me your axe." Therefore is it written, "Thou shalt not take vengeance," and "Love thy neighbour as thyself;" R. Akiba says, "This is the great principle of the Torah."'[1]

B. The Haggadic Midrash on the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls (Megilloth).

Those parts of Scripture which are most frequently read in the public services of the Synagogue naturally became the chief subject of Midrashic exposition, or formed the basis of homiletical midrashic discourses: viz., the Torah or Pentateuch in the first place, with the "five Megilloth" or "Scrolls" (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) which are read through at five great festivals or fasts;[2] and, lastly, the lections from the Prophets (the *Haftaroth*).

The midrashim on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth form a well-defined group by themselves. The most widely known collection of this kind is the so-called "Midrash Rabbah," a full midrash on each of the Pentateuchal Books, and each of the five "Scrolls." Though now always treated as a collective whole, and edited as such,[3] the so-called Midrash Rabbah is a very composite work. It consists of the following exegetical and homiletical midrashim:

1. *Bereshith Rabbah*, an *exegetical* midrash on Genesis. This is the oldest and most important of the purely haggadic midrashim, and has quite a distinct

[1] Cited in *JE* viii, 555.

[2] Canticles is read at Passover (being allegorically interpreted of the Exodus from Egypt), Ruth at the Feast of Weeks (Harvest), Lamentations on the 9th of Ab (in memory of the destruction of the Temple), Ecclesiastes at the feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth) and Esther at Purim. See further ch. xix.

[3] A German translation of the entire Midrash Rabbah (Pentateuch and Megilloth) was published in ten parts by Dr. A. Wünsche (in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*: Leipzig, 1880–1885).

character of its own as compared with the other representatives of the latter class. In its original form it was, according to tradition, composed by R. Hoshaiah, in the third century, in Palestine. It was not improbably designed at first to form a supplement to the halakic midrashim Mekilta, Sifra and Sifre with which it would complete the cycle of Pentateuchal Books. According to Zunz it was edited in its present form (mainly) in the sixth century, but later interpolations have been added. The last section, from Genesis 48^{28} onward (beginning: "And Jacob lived" = Hebrew *Wayechi*: hence called "*Wayechi Rabbah*"), is usually regarded as a composition of much later date, according to Zunz of the eleventh or twelfth century.[1] A critical edition of the Hebrew text has been issued by J. Theodor.

> The following brief extract from this Midrash (part of the long comment on Gen. 1^{26}, "Let us make man, etc.") may be cited here by way of illustration:
>
> "R. Huna the Elder of Sepphoris said: "While the angels were disputing and discussing with one another, the Holy One, praised be He, created him [man]." R. Huna in the name of R. Aibu said: "He created him with circumspection, for He created first the things necessary for his life." Then the angels spoke before the Holy One, praised be He: "Lord of the World, what is man that Thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him? Why should this sorrow be created?" Then He said to them: "Why have all sheep and oxen been created, the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea—why have these been created? A castle with all good things, and there are no guests; what pleasure has the owner who takes his fill?" Then the angels said: "O Lord our Lord, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth! Do what seems best to Thee."

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[1] This, however, is denied by Dr. M. Margel in his valuable essay on *Der Segen Jakobs* ("The Blessing of Jacob") as regards the sections dealing with Genesis 49.

2. *Ekah Rabbati*, an exegetical midrash on Lamentations. This also is one of the oldest of the Palestinian midrashim. According to Zunz it was compiled in the second half of the seventh century. There are many passages in it which have parallels in the Jerusalem Talmud, derived in each case probably from older common sources.

> The following extract is part of the comment on Lam. 1^1:
>
> *How* [Heb. *Ekah*] *doth the city sit solitary.* Three prophets used the expression. *Ekah* ("how") in their prophecies—Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—Moses said: "*How* can I myself alone bear . . . ." (Deut. 1^{12}); Isaiah said, "*How* is the faithful city become an harlot!" (1^{21}); Jeremiah said: "*How* doth she sit solitary." R. Levi said: "It is like a noble woman [matron] who had three friends: one of them saw her in her honour; another saw her in her abandon; and the third saw her in her sorrow." Moses saw them [the Israelites] in their honour [their happiness] and said, "How can I myself alone bear"; Isaiah saw them in their abandon, and said, "How is (she) become an harlot"; Jeremiah saw them in their sorrow, and said: "How doth she sit solitary."

The midrashim belonging to the "Rabbah" collection on the other four Megilloth are also exegetical in character: viz.:

3. *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*,[1] on Canticles. At a very early date Canticles became the subject of midrashic exposition. R. Akiba interpreted it allegorically of the relation between God and Israel. It was also applied allegorically to the Exodus from Egypt. Many traces of this old allegorical interpretation survive in the present midrash (as also in single verses quoted in *Mekilta*, *Sifre* and the Talmud). The midrash in its present form is a compilation of material of various date

[1] Sometimes also called, from its opening (Hebrew) words, *Agadath chazith.*

and origin, and is dependent both on the *Pesikta* and *Wayyikra Rabbah* (see below) and also on the Jerusalem Talmud and *Bereshith Rabbah*.

Two other Midrashim to Canticles have been recovered within recent years, viz., the *Agadath Shir ha-Shirim*, published by S. Schechter (Cambridge, 1896), and by S. Buber in *Midrasch Suta* pp. 1–41 (Berlin, 1894); and the *Midrash Shir ha-shirim*, published by Grünhut (1897).

4. *Midrash Ruth*, on Ruth (*Ruth Rabbah*). This is an interesting work, dependent on much the same authorities as the preceding, and of about the same date. It contains some interesting references to the Messiah, and its exegesis has many interesting points.

The midrash on Ruth published by Buber in his *Midrasch Suta* (pp. 45–56), is an entirely different work.

5. *Midrash Koheleth* (or *Koheleth Rabbah*), on Ecclesiastes. A comparatively late compilation; it borrows material from the Jerusalem Talmud, introductory sections from *Bereshith Rabbah*, *Ekah Rabbati*, *Wayyikra Rabbah*, *Pesikta*, and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, and also from the Babylonian Talmud.

The midrash on Koheleth published by Buber in *Midrasch Suta* (pp. 83–144) is apparently an extract from *Midrash Koheleth Rabbah* with additions.

6. *Midrash Megillath Esther*, on Esther, of Palestinian origin. It uses much the same sources as the preceding midrash (Koheleth). It contains an extract from Josippon (tenth century) giving the story of Mordecai's dream and prayer, and of Esther's prayer: but this is probably an interpolation.

Several midrashim are extant of this Book (as also more than one Targum, see ch. iv, § 1 above). It enjoyed great popularity in connexion with the popular feast of Purim.

The remaining midrashim in the "Midrash Rabbah" collection are in the nature rather of homilies (sermons) than of set comments on the text of the particular books (verse by verse). The Scripture sections for the Sabbath or Festival were taken as subjects for haggadic discourses. These homilies consist usually of introductions (proems) followed by an exposition of the opening verses and verse-texts of the Scriptural lesson, and ending with "a Messianic or other comforting verse." They are thus mainly homiletical in character with an admixture of exegesis.

They are as follows:—

7. *Wayyikra Rabbah*, on Leviticus, belonging to the older Midrashim. According to Zunz it was compiled in Palestine about the middle of the seventh century. It is distinguished by its frequent use of proverbial sayings.

   The following are some of the examples quoted: "If you have knowledge what do you lack? If you lack knowledge what do you possess?" "Whoever lends on interest destroys his own and other property." "Whoever leases one garden eats birds; whoever leases two gardens is eaten by birds."

8. *Debarim Rabbah*, on Deuteronomy. This midrash contains 25 homilies as well as two fragments of homilies on sections of Deuteronomy. According to Zunz it was compiled about the year 900.

9. *Bemidbar Rabbah*, on Numbers. This is a composite work. According to Zunz it is a combination of the work of two different authors, the later of whom lived in the twelfth century. The main part of the work is an extract (with some variations and additions) from *Tanchuma* (for which see below).

10. *Shemoth Rabbah* on Exodus. This midrash also appears to be composite in character. The first part down to Ex. 12[1] (where the *Mekilta* begins) may possibly be based on an earlier exegetical

midrash which continued *Bereshith Rabbah* [from Gen. 47[28]] *Wayyechi Rabbah.* According to Zunz the complete midrash was only compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century. Thus the Midrash Rabbah to Exodus, though in the usual editions it immediately follows that to Genesis (*Bereshith Rabbah*), "is separated from the latter by 500 years" (Zunz).

The midrashim numbered 1–10 above constitute the so-called *Midrash Rabbah* (or *Rabboth*). In the printed editions they follow the Hebrew order of the Biblical Books (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther).

C. The Haggadic (homiletic) Midrashim on the Pentateuchal and Prophetic Lessons.

Besides the "Midrash Rabbah" there is an important group of homiletic midrashim based on the Scripture *sections* fixed as lessons for festival days and special Sabbaths, as well as for ordinary Sabbaths. Hence one of the names applied to some of these collections, *Pesikta* (pl. *Pesiktoth* "sections"). They are, in fact, sermons based on the lectionary of the Synagogue. As has already been pointed out, the "Midrash Rabbah" includes works of this kind (viz. *Wayyikra Rabbah, Debarim Rabbah, Bemidbar Rabbah,* and *Shemoth Rabbah*), and their general character has already been indicated above.

The most important collections of this kind are the following:

1. *The Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (or *Pesikta* simply). The main body of this work is undoubtedly old; it must rank with *Bereshith Rabbah* and *Ekah Rabbati*, and is possibly earlier than these in origin. It consists of 33 (or 34) homilies which are based on special Pentateuchal and Prophetic lessons.

It is a Palestinian work. Text by Buber (1868); German translation by Wünsche (1885).

The following passage from one of the homilies which is based on the words: "He hath clothed me with garments of Salvation" (Is. 61^{10}), will serve to illustrate the character of this midrash, and is also interesting as being founded on the chapter whence Christ took the text of His address in the synagogue at Nazareth. It may perhaps illustrate the character of contemporary Jewish sermons in the first century, A.D.[1] It is translated from pp. 149 *a* and *b* of Buber's edition (=p. 213 in Wünsche's translation).[2]

"Seven garments the Holy One—blessed be He—has put on, and will put on from the time the world was created until the hour when He will punish the wicked Edom (=the Roman Empire). When He created the world, He clothed Himself in honour and majesty, as it is said (Ps. $104.^{1}$): 'Thou art clothed in honour and majesty.' Whenever He forgave Israel's sins He clothed Himself in white; for we read (Dan. 7^{9}): 'His garment was white as snow.' When He punishes the people of the world, He puts on the garment of vengeance, as it is said (Is. $59.^{17}$): 'He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing and was clad with zeal as a cloak.' The sixth garment He will put on when the Messiah comes; then He will clothe Himself in a garment of righteousness, for it is said: 'And He puts on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon His head.' The seventh garment he will put on when He punishes Edom; then He will clothe Himself in *Adom*—i.e., red; for it is said (Is. 63^{2}): 'Wherefore art Thou red in Thine apparel?' But the garment which He will put upon the Messiah, this will shine far, from one end of the earth to the other; for it is said (Is. 61^{10}): 'As a bridegroom decketh himself with a garland.' And the Israelites will partake of His light, and will speak:

'Blessed is the hour when the Messiah shall come!
'Blessed the womb out of which He shall come!
'Blessed his contemporaries who are eye-witnesses!
'Blessed the eye that is honoured with a sight of him.

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[1] Cf. F. Delitzsch *A Day in Capernaum* (*ET*, p. 155f.).

[2] It recurs with slight variations in *Pesikta rabbati* (ed. Friedmann, pp. 163b 164).

'For the opening of his lips is blessing and peace ;
'His speech is a moving of the spirits ;
'The thoughts of his heart are confidence and cheerfulness ;
'The speech of his tongue is pardon and forgiveness.
'His prayer is the sweet incense of offerings ;
'His petitions are holiness and purity.
'Oh, how blessed is Israel for whom such has been prepared ! '
For it is said (Ps. 31^{19}): 'How great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee ! ' "

2. *Pesikta rabbati.* This collection also consists of homilies on the Pentateuchal and Prophetic lessons, etc. " Rabbati " = (" the larger ") was probably added to the title to distinguish it from the earlier *Pesikta*, with which it has affinities. It is considerably more extensive than the latter. According to Zunz it was compiled in the second half of the ninth century. In its extant form the text is probably defective. A critical edition was published by M. Friedmann at Vienna in 1880. No translation has yet appeared.

A midrash on the Pentateuch and five megilloth by R. Tobia ben Elieser of Mainz (twelfth century), has acquired the name of *Pesikta sutarta* ; but this work has nothing in common with the true Pesikta collections, and its name must have arisen by mistake. A Latin translation is given in Ugolini, Vols. XV and XVI.

3. *Tanchuma Yelammedenu.* The Midrash Tanchuma (so called because containing many homilies that originated with the famous Haggadist R. Tanchuma b. Abba of Palestine [1]) covers the entire Pentateuch as divided into " sedarim " or portions. It also contains discourses for special feast-days and Sabbaths (like the *Pesikta*). The homilies of the *Tanchuma* are constructed according to a regular plan ; they consist of a halakic introduction,

[1] Flourished towards end of fourth century.

followed by several proems, exposition of the opening verses, and the Messianic conclusion.

The name " Yelammedenu !" is derived from the opening formula " Yelammedenu rabbenu " (= " our teacher teaches us ") with which the halakic exordium begins. By many old authors the midrash is cited under the name of " Tanchuma " (" Midrash Tanchuma "), and, as has already been pointed out, a number of the proems are actually assigned to this Rabbi (the formula " Thus R. Tanchuma expounded," is also appended to some of the larger sections). But the compiler of the *Yalkut Shimeoni* (for which see below) quotes from two distinct midrashic works, one under the name " Yelammedenu," the other under that of " Tanchuma." The original *Tanchuma* (I) is represented in Buber's critical edition (*Midrash Tanchuma*, 3 vols. Wilna, 1885), the text of which was collected from several MSS. This work, consisting of homilies on the weekly sections of the Pentateuch, is perhaps the oldest Haggadic collection extant, older even than *Bereshith Rabbah* which cites it. It was probably edited in its present form in the fifth century, before the completion of the Babylonian Talmud. It is quoted in other midrashic collections (e.g., in the *Rabbah*, *Pesikta* and *Pesikta rabbati*) and is of great importance. No translation of Buber's edition has yet appeared.

The original " Yelammedenu " is known only as embodied in the composite text of the ordinary editions of *Tanchuma* (the sections beginning " Yelammedenu rabbenu ") and in citations. The ordinary editions of *Tanchuma* represent a combination of *Tanchuma* (I) and the original " Yelammedenu " with several additions (especially from the Babylonian Talmud).

4. *Aggadath Bereshith*, a collection of homilies to a number of "portions" (*sedarim*) of Genesis. It contains 83 homilies, each of which (with two exceptions) "is in three sections, so arranged that the first one connects with a *seder* from Genesis, the second with a prophetic section (which may be regarded as the *haftarah* to this *seder*) and the third with a psalm (which, perhaps, was recited during worship on the Sabbath for which this *seder* was a lesson)."[1] The prophetic sections seem to follow a three-year cycle of *sedarim*, i.e., the ancient three-year lectionary which preceded the present one-year cycle of lessons.[2] The best edition of the text is that of Buber (Cracow, 1903). It has not been translated.

D. Other Important Midrashic Collections.

Many midrashim are cited in old authors which have been lost. Besides those midrashic works which have already been enumerated, the following call for mention:

1. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* or *Baraitha de Rabbi Eliezer*, a Haggadic work in 54 chapters. It is neither homiletic nor exegetic in character, but is a midrashic narrative of the more important events recorded in the Pentateuch (the story of creation, the history of the patriarchs and the Mosaic age). It is similar in general character to the Book of Jubilees, which gives a haggadic version of the Biblical Genesis. It contains much interesting eschatological material. The "Eliezer" of the title is the famous R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (end of first century, A.D.); but the present work cannot have been composed, according to Zunz, before the eighth century. The author was a Palestinian.

[1] *JE* VIII, 563.
[2] See further ch. xviii on this point.

A Latin translation was published by Vorstius, under the title *Capitula R. Elieser ex Hebræo in Latinum translata* (Lugd. Bat. 1644).

2. *Midrash Tehillim*, midrash on the Psalms. This collection has been known since the eleventh century. (It is also sometimes called *Aggadath* or *Haggadath Tehillim*; and, from its opening words, "*Shocher tob.*") The true midrash covers only Pss. 1–118, but an appendix covering the rest was compiled later, and appears in the printed edition. The work appears to be a composite one, and includes some very ancient material. It was compiled in Palestine. It is partly homiletic, partly exegetic in character, and contains much interesting matter (in the shape of stories, legends, parables, proverbs, etc.). A valuable edition of the Hebrew text was published by Buber, *Midrasch Tehillim: Schocher Tob:* (Wilna, 1891), and a German translation of this text by Dr. A. Wünsche (*Midrasch Tehillim:* 2 vols. Trier) in 1892–3.

3. *Yalkut Shimeoni*,[1] an immense thesaurus of midrashic material covering the entire text of the Old Testament. It is a work similar in character to the patristic *catenæ*, consisting of extracts drawn from various midrashim, arranged under the separate passages commented on. The *Yalkut* is valuable for critical purposes, in fixing the readings of midrashic texts. Its citations cover nearly the whole range of the Talmudic-midrashic literature; but it does not quote *Shemoth* and *Bemidhbar* in the *Midrash Rabbah*, nor the midrashim to Ecclesiastes and Esther in the same collection. The *editio princeps* is that of Salonica (1526–27;

[1] *Yalkut* = "collection" (the same word is rendered "scrip" in 1 Sam 17^{40}). *Yalkut Shimeoni* = "Simeon's Collection." Who the Simeon referred to was is unknown.

1521): a recent edition appeared at Warsaw, (1876–77). A translation of the *Yalkut* on Zechariah by E. G. King was published at Cambridge in 1882.

4. *Yalkut ha-Makiri*, a somewhat similar collection to the above (but only covering certain books of the Bible), made by Machir b. Abba Mari (about whom nothing is known). It is probably a later work than the *Yalkut Shimeoni*. Here again there is much valuable material for text-critical purposes. The following parts of this midrash have been published: viz., on the Psalms (ed. by Buber, 1899), on Isaiah (ed. Spira, Berlin, 1894), and on Proverbs (ed. Grünhut, 1902).
5. *Midrash ha-Gadol*, an even more comprehensive collection than the above, containing quotations from the Targumim, the mystical books and the Rabbinical writings (all of which are ignored in the *Yalkuts*), as well as citations from the earlier literature. The part on Genesis has been published by Schechter (Cambridge, 1902).

III. Some Characteristics of the Midrashic Literature and some New Testament Illustrations.

From what has been said above some idea of the extent and importance of the midrashic literature will have been gained by the reader. The study and cultivation of the Haggadah which finds its freest expression in the midrash has enjoyed great popularity at various times among the Jews, and in its various forms has been developed with marvellous energy and ingenuity. Parables, stories, maxims, proverbs, folk-lore, fables and *obiter dicta* of all kinds find untrammelled expression in this vast collection. The haggadic midrash thus afforded an outlet for the freest expression of individual opinions, and is warm with human interest. The exegetical midrashim possess unique importance for elucidating the history of Rabbinical exegesis (the artificial methods of

interpretation embodied in R. Ishmael's thirteen rules, etc.). The midrash (especially in its halakic portions) is largely founded on these systems (the rival systems of R. Ishmael and Akiba were, later, combined). An example may here be cited which possesses a curious interest. It is a midrashic passage assigned, on the authority of the famous Spanish Dominican monk Raymundus Martini (thirteenth century), to the well known Galilean Rabbi Jose (second century A.D.),[1] who in it draws a parallel and a contrast between the suffering Messiah of Isa. 53 and the first Adam, which irresistibly reminds us of Rom. 5 [16-18]. Here it is cited as exemplifying the Rabbinical method of reasoning *a minori ad majus*. It runs as follows :—

> Deduce, moreover, a conclusion as to the merit of King Messiah and the reward of the righteous from that first Adam : the latter transgressed but one divine command, and see ! with how many deaths this transgression has been punished again and again in him and the following generations. Which power, then, is the greater, that of goodness or of retribution ? The power of goodness has the predominance. For King Messiah, who has borne in himself sufferings and anguish for transgressors, as it is said (Isa. 53[5]), *He was wounded for our transgressions*—how much more will his sufferings be meritorious for all generations, as it is written (Isa. 53[6]) : *the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all.*[2]

Of pure Haggadah there is a striking instance in 1 Cor. 10[4] (" And they drank of a spiritual rock that followed them," etc.). Here S. Paul is obviously alluding to the well mentioned in Num. 21[16], which early became the

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[1] Raymundus cites the passage (in Hebrew in his *Pugio Fidei*) as from the halakic midrash *Sifre*. But as it stands, it cannot be traced in the printed editions of *Sifre*. Like other citations in the *Pugio* it probably depends upon a MS. or MSS. no longer extant. Cf. F. Delitzsch, in his Hebrew translation of *Romans* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 82 f.

[2] It should be said here that the Messianic application of Isa. 52[12]—53 was certainly not common in Jewish circles in the time of Christ, nor probably was it the earliest. The passage has been interpreted in Jewish circles mainly as having a national reference.

subject of legendary Haggadah. In the Midrash Rabbah on Num. 1[1] it is thus described :—

> They had the well through the merit of Miriam, as it is written : " And Miriam died, and was buried there." And what follows immediately after ? " And the congregation *had no water*." And how was the well formed ? It was a crag like a beehive, and it used to roll along and accompany them on their journeyings. And when the standards were pitched, and the Tabernacle rested, the crag came and settled in the court of the Tent of Meeting, and the princes came and stood beside it, and said " Spring up, O well," and then it would spring up. [1]

One other instructive example may here be quoted. Ps. 110[1] is applied in the Gospels (Matt. 22[44] and parallels) and in other parts of the New Testament to the Messiah ; and it is implied there that this interpretation was the one generally accepted at the time among the Jews. Later, however, this view was displaced in Jewish circles in favour of others, more especially of one which referred it to Abraham (so Rashi). But the effort to suppress the old exegesis was not entirely successful. Thus in the midrash on the Psalms, to Ps. 18[36], the old interpretation reappears, in a comment on the words, " Thy right hand hath upholden me."

> R. Judan in the name of R. Chama says : that in the time to come the Holy One—blessed be He !—will make King Messiah sit at His right hand, as it is said (Ps. 110[1]), *The Lord said unto my lord sit thou on my right hand side*, etc.

The midrashic literature is thus of the highest importance for elucidating the exegetical tradition. This is a matter which the New Testament student cannot afford to ignore. For it is a fact that the New Testament writers in the use they make of the ancient Scriptures, do not usually depend immediately upon the Old Testament text. Their employment of Old Testament texts and Old Testament language is often conditioned by the influence of later Jewish exegesis. One notable feature

[1] See further an article by Prof. Driver " Notes on Three Passages in S. Paul's Epistles," in *Expositor*, Third series, Vol. IX, pp. 15 f. (1889).

in this connexion is the proof-text of Scripture that is regularly cited in the midrash to support a statement—in exactly the same way the compiler of the First Gospel quotes from the Old Testament texts in support of the messianic character of the Christian Messiah (cf. Matt. 1^{23}; 2^{6}, ^{15}, ^{18}, ^{23}, etc.). In its vivid use of metaphor, simile, and proverb the midrash, though its form is that of pure prose, is invested with a certain poetic quality. These points are sufficiently illustrated in the extracts given above.[1]

It is, however, the *parable*—which may be regarded as the regular vehicle of didactic poetry in post-Biblical Jewish Literature—in common with the homily, that has assumed its most artistic form and been most richly developed in the midrashim. With some illustrations of this product of the Haggadah this section must conclude.[2]

The following extremely clever parable is attributed to Rabbi Judah the Prince (called simply "Rabbi"), the compiler of the *Mishnah* (c. 190 A.D.).

Antoninus (i.e., the Roman Emperor) asked Rabbi how there could be punishment in the life beyond? For since body and soul after their separation could not have committed sin they could blame each other for the sins committed on earth. Rabbi answered him by the following parable:

> A certain king had a beautiful garden in which was excellent fruit: and over it he appointed two watchmen one blind and the other lame. The lame man said to the blind one, I see exquisite fruit in the garden. Carry me thither that I may get it: and we will eat it together. The blind man consented and both ate of the fruit. After some days

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[1] There are also the Beast Fables of the Talmud and Midrash (most of them borrowed directly or indirectly from India). Cf. Abrahams' *Short Hist. J L*, p. 34 f. on this point.

[2] For a full and valuable discussion of the early Rabbinical Parables, cf., P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu* (Leipzig, 1904). Reference may also be made to *Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrasch*, by Dr. I. Ziegler (Breslau, 1903).

the lord of the garden came and asked the watchmen concerning the fruit. Then the lame man said, "As I have no legs I could not go to it, so it is not my fault"; and the blind man said, "I could not even see it, so it is not my fault."

What did the lord of the garden do?

He made the blind man carry the lame and thus passed judgment on them both. So God will replace the souls in their bodies and will punish both together for their sins. (*Sanh.* 91. a.b.).

The following have direct parallels in the New Testament:[1]

Jochanan b. Zakkai illustrates the necessity of daily conversion and constant readiness to appear before God in Heaven by the following parable:

A king invited his servants to a banquet, without stating the exact time at which it would be given. Those who were wise remembered that all things are ever ready in the palace of a king, and they arrayed themselves and sat by the palace gate awaiting the call to enter, while those who were foolish continued their customary occupations, saying, "A banquet requires great preparation."

When the king called his servants to the banquet, those who were wise appeared in clean raiment and well adorned, while those who were foolish came in soiled and ordinary garments. The king took pleasure in seeing those who were wise, but was full of anger at those who were foolish, saying that those who had come prepared for the banquet should sit down and eat and drink, but that those who had not properly arrayed themselves should stand and look on.

(Compare in the New Testament, Matt. 22^{10-12}; 25^{1-12}; Luke $12.^{30}$)

Another parable (from the Palestinian Talmud) which forms a striking parallel to a New Testament one is the following:

When R. Chiyya's son R. Abin died at the early age of twenty-eight R. Zera delivered the funeral oration which he couched in the form of the following parable:

"A king had a vineyard, for which he engaged many labourers, one of whom was especially apt and skilful. What did the king do? He took this labourer from his work, and walked through the garden conversing with him. When

[1] These are cited here as they appear in *JE* s.v. Parable ix, 513f.

the labourers came for their hire in the evening the skilful labourer appeared among them and received a full day's wages from the king. The other labourers were very angry at this, and said, 'We have toiled the whole day, while this man has worked but two hours. Why does the king give him the full hire even as to us?' The king said to them, 'Why are you angry? Through his skill he has done more in the two hours than you have done all day.' So it is with R. Abin Chiyya. In the twenty-eight years of his life he has learned more than others learn in 100 years. Hence he has fulfilled his life-work, and is entitled to be called to Paradise earlier than others from his work on earth: nor will he miss aught of his reward." (Jer. Ber. II, 5c.).

The point of the parable in Matt. 20 $^{1-10}$ is, of course, quite different. It illustrates, among other things, the doctrine that non-Jewish Christians are to be treated as equal with Jews in privilege in the Kingdom of Heaven.

IV. The Prayer-Book.

[Literature.—Lewis N. Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* (Philadelphia, 1898). The art. "Prayer Books" in *JE* Vol. x, pp. 171ff (with the authorities cited). Cf. also Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, ch. x ("The Hebrew Collection of the British Museum"); the catalogues of Hebrew MSS. of the British Museum (by Rev. G. Margoliouth) and the Bodleian (by Dr. A. Neubauer) Libraries (s.v. Liturgies); and two articles by G. H. Box on "The Jewish Prayer Book" in the *Expository Times*, Vol. xv (April and May, 1904). See further ch. xvii of the present work.]

(i) Introductory.

The liturgical literature of the Jews may be regarded as one of the "sources" of Judaism. Although the Jewish Liturgy is itself largely the product and deposit of tradition, it yet in its embodied form, and as a factor in public worship, exercised, and continues to exercise, a profound influence in the development and maintenance of typical Jewish character and piety. The main outlines of the Jewish Liturgy are fixed, and go back to a considerable antiquity. For some discussion of this point, and of the character and liturgical use of the

synagogue-prayers generally, the reader is referred to another chapter of the present work.[1] Here we confine ourselves to the task of indicating briefly some of the more important collections of the prayers (MSS. and printed editions) with reference more particularly to the different uses or "minhagim."[2]

Within the ranks of the orthodox Jews there is an important division, which depends not upon recently developed differences of opinion and taste, but upon the effects produced by living in communities widely separated and influenced by widely different historical conditions during many centuries of the past. According to this division, the Jews fall into two main classes, namely, those of the *Sefardim* and the *Ashkenazim*. Now, by the mediæval Jews, the land Sepharad mentioned in Obadiah, vs. 20, was identified with Spain, while Ashkenaz, one of the descendants of Japheth (Gen. 10[3]), was identified with Germany, probably because of the similarity in sound of the name Gomer (the father of Ashkenaz) with that of the Teutonic Fatherland.[3] Hence Ashkenaz is the mediæval Jewish name for Germany, and Sepharad of Spain; and the Jews of German- and Slavonic-speaking countries are called *Ashkenazim*, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews are named *Sefardim*. The Ashkenazim or German-speaking Jews have for centuries used among themselves a German jargon, the commonest form of Yiddish, which is derived from the dialect of the Rhine; and this form of speech prevails even among those who live in Slavonic-speaking countries. The reason is that the Jews of Austria-Hungary, and Poland (as well as of Germany proper) are the descendants of those who were originally settled in the Rhine valley, having overflowed into these countries

[1] Cf. ch. xvii.

[2] The following paragraph is reproduced from the art. (by G. H. Box) in the *Expository Times* (xv, 314 f.) referred to above.

[3] See *JE* i, 193 (*s.v.* "Ashkenaz").

from the original settlement, and having carried their German speech with them. The original colony is said to have consisted of Galileans who were deported to the lower Rhine in the reign of the emperor Hadrian. On the other hand, the Jews of Spain and Portugal have overflowed into Provence, Italy, North Africa, and Turkey. Their diffusion was especially stimulated by the expulsion from Spain in 1492, which was also responsible for the founding of a Sefardic settlement in Holland, and from thence later in London. Now the Ashkenazim and Sefardim differ on the following points: (1) in their pronunciation of Hebrew; the former reproducing, to a large extent, the provincial peculiarities of Galilee, the latter approximating more nearly to the classical diction of Judæa; (2) in the intonation of the prayers and Bible lessons: "the Sefardim have pretty much maintained the old oriental chants, which move in a very narrow compass, while the Germans and Poles have allowed a strong European element to enter their religious music"; [1] and (3) there are differences, on the whole, by no means inconsiderable, between the service-books of the two divisions. The importance of these, however, must not be exaggerated. In the oldest elements of the Liturgy they are in essential agreement—the Sefardic versions being distinguished by a marked tendency to diffuseness and oriental exuberance of expression (e.g., the heaping up of synonyms). It is in later additions to the Liturgy that the two branches most markedly differ. The German Prayer-Book seems ultimately to have been derived from Tiberias, in Galilee; that of the Sefardim from the Babylonian Schools (in the ninth century A.D.). The technical term for these varieties of liturgical form and usage is *minhag* (= custom). Thus "the German minhag" and "the Portuguese minhag" are spoken of. The former is divided into two varieties,

[1] Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*, p. 15.

namely, the Ashkenazic minhag proper (that of Western Germany) and the Polish minhag (that of Eastern Germany and of the countries farther east and south-east).[1] Modern movements of population have in many cases brought Jews of these originally separate communities into close proximity. But in these cases the old distinctions are still maintained, and so we find German synagogues in Jerusalem, and Portuguese synagogues in London, Paris, Hamburg, and Vienna, side by side with the synagogues that follow the minhag of the original settlements of the places in question. It ought here to be mentioned that the Jews of the East (Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia) had originally a minhag different from those of the Ashkenazim and Sefardim; but after Maimonides' stay in Egypt, and also owing to the influx of refugees from Spain after the expulsion, the Sefardic Liturgy displaced the earlier ritual in these countries.

Among the Jews of one district of Arabia, however—namely, Yemen—many of the peculiar features of the earlier and original usage still survive, which are of great historical interest and value. Of even greater importance from the historical point of view are the Liturgy of the Karaites—a Jewish sect in the Crimea, who repudiate rabbinical traditions—and that of the little community of Samaritans which still survives at Nablûs, the ancient Shechem, in Palestine. There is also a mystical Jewish sect, numbering some five hundred thousand, scattered about districts of Poland, Russia, Northern Hungary, and Roumania, known as the *Chasîdîm*, or "Pious," who have a Prayer-Book of their own. This, however, is mainly based on the Sefardic minhag. This sect, while not denying the binding force of rabbinical

[2] The term "minhag" is also used in a wider sense to denote any variety of local usage or custom in civil life. The Mishnic rule is: *Everything according to the custom* (*minhag*) *of the country* (הכל כמנהג המדינה, *Baba Metzia*, ix, 1).

ordinances, attaches a higher value to the esoteric teachings of the *Kabbalah* (mystical speculation) than to the Talmud.

The collected form of the prayers for weekdays, Sabbaths, holy days, festivals, and fasts is usually termed "Seder Tefilloth" ("Order of Prayers") or simply "Siddur" ("Order"). Owing to their bulk it became necessary, in course of time, to separate the full "order" for Festivals from that of ordinary weekdays and Sabbaths. Such collected form of the Festival Prayers is termed "Machzor" ("Cycle") as distinguished from the smaller collection of daily, Sabbath, and occasional prayers.

(ii) Earliest Compilations.

1. The earliest known compilation of prayers forming a *Jewish Book of Common Prayer* is that of Amram Gaon,[1] referred to as the "Seder (or Siddur) Rab Amram" (Amram was principal of the Rabbinical Academy of Matah Mechasya 846–864). This "Seder" formed the basis of all subsequent Jewish Prayer-Books (both Sefardic and Ashkenazic).

A printed edition of Amram's work was published for the first time by N. N. Coronel at Warsaw, in the year 1865 from a MS. in two parts (but much interpolated.)

2. *Saadya Gaon*, principal of the academy of Sura (928–942) also compiled a prayer-book, a manuscript of which was found at his birthplace, Al-Fayyum in Egypt.

3. *Moses Maimonides* (1135–1204) at the end of the second book of his famous *Yad ha-chazakah* ("The mighty hand") gives the order of prayers for the whole year in

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1 "Gaon" (="Excellency") is an official title applied to the heads of the Babylonian School at Sura (or Mechasya), in the eighth century. The "Gaon" was a sort of Grand Rabbi who was consulted by Jews from all over the world by letter. Volumes of their official "replies" ("Responsa") are still extant. The last Gaon was R. Hai who died in 1040.

the section entitled "Seder Tefilloth Kol ha-Shanah" ("Order of Prayers for the whole year"). It coincides, of course, with the Sefardic minhag.

The text with a German translation was published by Leon J. Mandelstamm at S. Petersburg in 1851.

4. Owing to his great reputation and influence Maimonides, when he left Spain for Egypt, was able to impose the Spanish (Sefardic) ritual on the Synagogues of the East. A word should be added here regarding another Spanish Jew Abudraham of Sevilla. He wrote (circa 1340) a description of and commentary on the Synagogue services of the time as they were carried on in Spain, which is of great value.

5. *The Machzor Vitry*. A famous collection of prayers, covering the complete cycle of the year ("machzor" = "cycle") was put forth in the year 1208 by Rabbi Simcha of Vitry in France. This is the most important of all the early compilations; it is "ten times as voluminous as the 'Seder Rab Amram,'" and forms the basis of the Ashkenazic minhag.

It was first edited (from several MSS.) by Simeon Hurwitz, and published for the "Mekitze Nirdamim" Society (Berlin, 1893).

(iii) Important Printed Editions (Orthodox).

The first printed Jewish Prayer-Book was issued in 1486 (Soncino); the earliest to contain the Sefardic rite was published at Venice in 1524.

This is not the place for a detailed list of the printed editions of the Hebrew Daily Prayer-Books, and the collections of Festival Prayers (the *Machzorim*). The following are the most important for critical and practical purposes.

The edition of the *Machzor* (Ashkenazic rite) edited by Benjamin Wolf Heidenheim (Rödelheim, 1800). In this edition the text of the prayers, which had become very corrupt, was purified and vastly improved. The

greatest advance, however, was made by the publication (at Rödelheim in 1868) of Seligman Baer's *Abodath Israel*. Here the text is corrected, and the sources of the prayers traced in a valuable commentary (in Hebrew). The following editions of the Hebrew text accompanied by English translations are practically important: "*The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book* of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire: with a new translation by the Rev. S. Singer" (1 vol. now issued by Eyre and Spottiswoode: often reprinted); "*Service of the Synagogue*: a new edition of the Festival Prayers with an English translation in prose and verse" (London, Routledge: in course of publication).[1] The Sefardic rite has been issued in "*Forms of Prayer*; edited, with an English translation," by D. A. De Sola (5 vols., 1860): revised edition by Dr. Moses Gaster (1900).

(iv) Printed Editions of Other Rites.

1. *The Siddur of the Jews of Southern Arabia* (Yemen). This was published in Jerusalem in 2 vols. in 1894 and 1898, and in Vienna in 1896. This rite agrees partly with the Sefardic, partly with the Ashkenazic minhag. The language of the prayers is partly Hebrew, partly Aramaic and Arabic. The collection is of great value for liturgical study (see Bacher in *JQR*, xiv. pp. 581–621). From the same quarter is also derived *The Haggadah according to the rite of Yemen*, edited by W. H. Greenberg (1896), where (in the introduction) much interesting information is given on the liturgical literature of the Yemenite Jews.

2. One of the most interesting additions to Jewish *Liturgica* in recent times is the *Seder Tefilloth ha-Falashim*, the prayer-book of the Falasha Jews of Abyssinia (Ethiopic text with Hebrew translation by Joseph

[1] This is a most beautiful and valuable edition. At present (1907) 3 vols. have been issued containing the prayers for the Day of Atonement and New Year.

Halévy, Paris, 1877). The prayers here embodied were compiled in the thirteenth century, and include a prayer by the angels, and a prayer at sacrifices.

3. Another Liturgy, containing some very ancient elements is that of the Samaritans (an edition containing the Samaritan text transliterated into Hebrew was published by M. Heidenheim, Leipsic, 1885 ; a critical, text is being prepared for the Clarendon (Oxford) Press by A. E. Cowley). In this connexion also should be mentioned " La Liturgie Samaritane, Office du Soir des Fêtes," by S. Rappoport (Paris, 1900).

4. Various editions of the *Karaite Liturgy* have been published ; one in 3 vols. Chufut-Kale, 1806 ; one in 4 vols. Eupatoria, 1836 ; one in 4 vols. Vienna, 1854. The latest edition of their *Siddur* is much abridged (1 vol.). It was edited for the congregation of Karaite Israelites in Egypt and published at Budapest in 1903.

5. *The Reform Ritual.* As a writer in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* remarks,[1] " Liturgy was and is still the field on which the different parties within Judaism—Orthodox, Progressive, and Reform—fight their battles with more or less bitterness."

The first Reform Prayer-Book was the *Gebetbuch* issued in Hebrew and German at Hamburg in 1818, for the use of the " New Temple " congregation. It was edited by S. I. Fränkel and I. M. Bresselau, and its publication at once provoked a storm, and was denounced by the official heads of the Jewish Community. The principal changes introduced were the abridgment of the Hebrew text, and the elimination of all references to a personal Messiah, and belief in the restoration of the Jewish State and the Temple Sacrifices.

A less radical " Gebetbuch " (Prayer-Book) on Reform lines was issued by Geiger at a later date (Breslau, 1854). In England a Reform-Prayer Book was published in 1841

[1] Vol. viii, p. 140 (s.v. *Liturgies*).

for the West London Synagogue of British Jews, by D. W. Marks. This also was interdicted by the official heads of the Jewish Community in London. In America the Reform Movement has made considerable progress; numerous prayer-books on reform lines have there been issued since 1850—the standard one now being "The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship," edited and published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis: 2 vols. Cincinnati, 1895. "In 1905, ten years after its publication, 'The Union Prayer-Book' had been adopted by 183 Reform congregations, and 62,224 copies had been issued" (*JE*, x, 180).

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Appendix: Later Sources.

It must not be supposed that with the close of the Rabbinical period the sources from which the religion of the Synagogue drew its inspiration ceased. A modern Jewish writer expresses what is regarded as axiomatic among Jews when he says that "to assign limits to the development of Judaism, and to assert that the communication of divine truth to Israel ceased with Moses or with Malachi or with the close of the Talmud, is to ignore the readings not only of reason, but of history." [1] Indeed, the Rabbis themselves recognized this when they declared that "to Moses every ordinance was revealed that was to be instituted in after times, however remote, and that the doctrine of any teacher, however obscure he might be, was to be venerated in the same degree as it had been taught by the prophets, or even by Moses himself." [2] The popular adage, "From Moses to Moses (i.e., Maimonides) there hath been none like unto Moses," points

[1] Morris Joseph; *Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. 30 (London, 1903).

[2] *Jer. Megillah*, i, 7, *Talm. Bab. Megillah* 19b *Sifre* to Deut. 11^{13}, quoted by Morris Joseph, *ibid.* pp. 34, 35.

in the same direction. From the tenth century onwards writers of great note have issued works which have ever since been regarded as authoritative sources of Judaism. Our brief review of the sources of Judaism would be incomplete without some reference to these writers and their works.

The earliest name that claims attention in this connexion is that of Saadyah ben Joseph (892–942) spoken of as "the founder of scientific activity in Judaism"; his most important work entitled *Emunoth we-Deoth* ("Truths and Dogmas"), was written originally in Arabic.[1] It is looked upon as a work of high authority. The next name of importance to be met with is that of Bachya ben Joseph, who lived in the former half of the eleventh century, and was the author of the first Jewish system of ethics. His work *Choboth Halebaboth*[2] ("Duties of the hearts," written in Arabic, but early translated into Hebrew) is very valuable, as in it the writer insists on the need of fulfilling the *spirit* of the Law rather than its letter. "Bachya felt impelled to make an attempt to present the Jewish faith as being essentially a great spiritual truth founded on Reason, Revelation (the written *Law*), and Tradition, all stress being at the same time laid on the willingness and the joyful readiness of the God-loving heart to perform life's duties."[3] It was a beautiful ideal, put forth, as it seems, on account of the sad non-realization of it on the part of his contemporaries. But the name of greatest weight in post-Rabbinical times is that of Moses Maimonides. He is popularly known as "RaMBaM," abbreviated from Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon (1135–1204). He was a most voluminous writer, but was regarded with disfavour in his day, for his teaching ran counter to Rabbinic orthodoxy. In his most

[1] No English translation has been published of this work, but there is a German one by Fürst (Leipzig, 1845).

[2] No English translation has, we believe, been published.

[3] *JE*, ii, 447.

celebrated work, *Moreh Nebuchim* ("Guide of the Perplexed"),[1] he sought to spiritualize what he regarded as the secrets of Scripture after the allegorical manner of the Alexandrines; his attempt to show that Judaism was "the very expression of human intelligence, and that there is nothing in Scripture or Rabbinical literature, if properly explained, that contradicts true philosophy," involved him in difficulties with the orthodox; it was not, of course, the thesis itself that was objected to, but that which its working out and elucidation involved. But in spite of this his influence on Judaism has been more profound than that of any other teacher in post-biblical times. This is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that the only approach to a Creed which the Jewish Church possesses emanates from Maimonides. In his Commentary on the *Mishnah* he emunciates thirteen "Principles of faith," and these Principles (*Ikkarim*) have been accepted by orthodox Judaism as its quasi-official expression of belief. They have been embodied in the Jewish Prayer-Book in two different forms, one in prose and the other in poetry. Concerning these thirteen Principles Maimonides himself says: "Read them again and again, and study them well, and let not your heart entice you to believe that you have comprehended their full meaning after having read them a few times; you would then be in a great error, for I have not written down what occurred to my mind at first thought. I first thoroughly studied and examined what I was going to write, compared the various doctrines, the correct ones and the incorrect ones, and when I arrived at what we ought to accept as our Creed, I was able to

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[1] Originally written in Arabic, but translated into Hebrew in the year 1200, by Samuel Tibbon. An English version, translated from the Arabic, has been published by Friedländer (London, new ed. 1904); a French one by Solomon Munk (Paris, 1856–1866), and a German one, of which the three parts were issued respectively by Fürstenthal (Krotoschin, 1839), Stern (Vienna, 1864) and Scheyer (Frankfurt, 1838).

prove it by arguments and reasonings." [1] As these "Thirteen Principles" form the unofficially recognized Creed of Judaism, they will not inappropriately find a place here :— [2]

1. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, is the Author and Guide of everything that has been created, and that He alone has made, does make, and will make all things.
2. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, is a Unity, and that there is no unity in any manner like unto His, and that He alone is our God, who was, is, and will be.
3. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, is not a body, and that He is free from all the accidents of matter, and that He has not any form whatsoever.
4. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, is the first and the last.
5. I believe with perfect faith that to the Creator, blessed be His name, and to Him alone, it is right to pray, and that it is not right to pray to any being besides Him.
6. I believe with perfect faith that all the words of the prophets are true.
7. I believe with perfect faith that the prophecy of Moses our teacher, peace be unto him, was true, and that he was the chief of the prophets, both of those that preceded and of those that followed him.
8. I believe with perfect faith that the whole Law, now in our possession, is the same that was given to Moses our teacher, peace be unto him.
9. I believe with perfect faith that the Law will not

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[1] Quoted by M. Friedländer in *The Jewish Religion.* p. 20 (second ed., London, 1900).

[2] See Singer, pp. 89, 90.

be changed, and that there will never be any other law from the Creator, blessed be His name.

10. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, knows every deed of the children of men, and all their thoughts, as it is said, It is He that fashioneth the hearts of them all, that giveth heed to all their deeds.
11. I believe with perfect faith that the Creator, blessed be His name, rewards those that keep His Commandments, and punishes those that transgress them.
12. I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and, though He tarry, I will wait daily for His coming.
13. I believe with perfect faith that there will be a resurrection of the dead at the time when it shall please the Creator, blessed be His name, and exalted be the remembrance of Him for ever and ever.

The next authoritative writer that claims attention is Jehudah Hallevi (1085–1140 or later) ; his work *Kuzari* [1] is that which is of chief importance in the present connexion ; the main principle of this is to show that revealed religion is superior to natural religion ; for " the aim of ethical training, which is the object of religion, is not to create in man good intentions, but to cause him to perform good deeds. This aim cannot be attained by philosophy, which is undecided as to the nature of good, but can be secured by religious training, which teaches what is good. As science is the sum of all the particles of truth found by successive generations, so religious training is based upon a set of traditions ; in other words, history is an important factor in the development of human culture

[1] A German translation was issued by David Cassel in 1869 (Leipzig) ; an English translation by Dr. Hartwig Hirschfield (London, 1905).

and science." [1] The work, which is in the form of an "Apologia" of Judaism, is called "Kuzari" because it was first written for the benefit of the ruler of the Chazar kingdom; it defends and justifies Judaism as against Philosophy, Christianity and Mohammedanism.

One other name deserves mention, Nachmanides (1194-1270); the main interest of his activity lies in the fact that it was directed against the tendency among earlier authorities, like Maimonides, to allegorize the biblical narratives and to refuse credit to the miraculous element even in the Talmud. "Against this tendency Nachmanides strove, and, as usual in such cases, went to the other extreme, not even allowing the utterances of the immediate disciples of the *Geonim* to be questioned. With these ultra-conservative ideas it was natural that in the struggle between Maimonists and anti-Maimonists Nachmanides' sympathies should go with the latter." [2] Respect for authority and tradition were the guiding principles of the teaching of Nachmanides. See further, Schechter's *Studies*, pp. 120 ff.

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[1] *JE*, vii, 351. See, too, a fine appreciation of the person and work of Jehudah Hallevi, by Joseph Jacobs in his *Jewish Ideals*, pp. 103–134 (London, 1896).

[2] *JE*, ix, 87.

CHAPTER VI.

Historical Sketch of the Divisions within the Jewish Body.

The Dispersion—The Pharisees—The Scribes—The Sadducees—The Essenes—The Karaites—The Chassidim—The "Reform" Jews.

[Literature :—Wellhausen *Pharisäer und Sadducäer* (1874); Lightfoot *Colossians and Philemon*, pp. 349–419 (1884); Schürer *op. cit.* II. ii. pp. 1–43, 188–327; Weber *op. cit.* pp. 125–147; Bertholet *Die Stellung der Israeliten zu den Fremden* (1896); Holtzmann *Die jüdische Schriftgelehrsamkeit zur Zeit Jesu* (1901); G. Hölscher *Der Sadduzäismus* (1906); Holtzmann *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 200–221, 233–273. Bousset *Die Religion des Judenthums im Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, pp. 161–184, 405–443 (1903); Harnack *Expansion of Christianity* (Engl. Trans.) I, 1–101 (1904); Friedländer *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, pp. 235–264 (1905); the articles on the various subjects treated, in *PRE*, *RE*, Hastings' *DB*, *JE*.]

I. The Dispersion.

In the book of Esther we read as follows: *And Haman said unto King Ahasuerus, there is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them,* 3^8; in 8^9 there is mention made of the Jews in *the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, an hundred twenty and seven provinces* (cf. 9^{30}, 10^1).

These "dispersed" Jews formed the greater part of the nation, which was represented in Palestine by the much smaller portion of those who, under Cyrus, had returned from the Babylonian captivity. When the Persian Empire was conquered by Alexander the Great, the chief way in which the dispersed Jews were affected

was that, on account of the greater freedom accorded to them, they migrated in large numbers to the West, and settled down in the centres of Greek civilization. Their relations towards their brethren in Palestine had probably never ceased being kept up; but their migrations westwards had the effect of increasing their intercommunication, which consisted mainly in the making of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the paying of the Temple tribute, and their voluntary subjection to the decrees of the Great Sanhedrin.[1] The dispersed Jews experienced a sense of national unity by thus regarding Jerusalem as the nation's centre. And it was the centre of a vast circumference, for there was scarcely a province of the civilized world of those days in which the Judaism of the Dispersion was not represented; in Syria and to the East, in Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Macedonia and Italy, etc., (cf. Acts 2^{9-11} for somewhat later times). Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV, vii, 2) quotes Strabo in the words: "Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities, and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by it;" and in earlier times witness is borne to the same thing, "every land and every sea is full of thee" (*Sibylline Oracles* iii. 271). But from almost every point of view the most important centre of the Jewish Dispersion was Alexandria. The nucleus for a Jewish population had existed in Egypt for centuries before the Christian Era; and when Alexandria was founded, Jewish settlers were attracted to it by the fact that they were offered equal privileges with all other citizens[1]; for according to an edict of Tiberius, quoted by Josephus, the Jews

[1] Cf. the words in the decree of Caius Julius Cæsar, given in Josephus *Antiq.* XIV, x, 2. (ed. Margoliouth): "I also ordain, that he (John Hyrcanus) and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest. . . . And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same."

had been "joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves" (Ant. XIX, v, 2). According to Philo there were synagogues in all parts of the city, and two of the five districts into which the city was divided were called the "Jewish" quarters on account of their being inhabited almost exclusively by Jews. This is not the place to deal with the general history and condition of the Jews of the Dispersion, but from our present point of view it is of importance to realize the far-reaching effect upon their religion which this intimate contact with the outside world had. The supreme factor which influenced the Judaism of the Dispersion, and which had the effect of altering the very essence of traditional Judaism, was Greek thought; the Jews of Palestine were not unaffected by this, but their brethren who lived in the very centres of the Greek world assimilated so much of its spirit that "Hellenistic Judaism" sometimes represented a form of belief in which the Judaism was almost entirely absorbed by the philosophy of Greece.[1] This was, to be sure, exceptional, but it only represents the high-water mark of the full stream of the Judaism of the *Diaspora*. It must suffice here to indicate in very few words three points regarding the subject which appear to be of paramount importance. Firstly, and what is perhaps most significant of all, the *spirit* which animated the teachers among the Jews of the Dispersion. Utterly unlike the traditional attitude of intolerant prejudice towards the Gentile world which was characteristic of the strict Palestinian Jew, his brother of the Dispersion regarded the larger world of his surroundings with a kindly eye, ready whenever opportunity offered (though this, alas,

[1] Cf. Josephus *Contra Ap.* i, 22 (§§ 176–181 in Margoliouth's edition).

was not often the case) to hold converse and associate with his Gentile neighbours; his religious interests were not so entirely absorbed in his own view of things but that he could see and appreciate the excellencies of Greek thought and philosophy; his mind was open to receive and to be influenced by what was good and true, no matter where it was to be found; while deeply convinced of the pre-eminent truth of his own religion, he was not blind to the fact that Jehovah was the God of the whole world; and, like S. Paul, realized that it was possible to seek after Him and worship Him, though in ignorance.[1] The writer of the "Letter of Aristeas" bears eloquent testimony to this spirit when he says in effect: "Regarding discussions and explanations of the Law they possessed great aptitude. They struck just the right balance, for they discarded the hard literalness of the letter, and were modest with regard to their own wisdom and were ready to hold free argument, to listen to the opinions of others, and to consider thoroughly every question that might be raised" (121, 122).[2] Thoroughly in keeping with this sympathetic spirit were the universalistic ideas of the *Diaspora*-Jews; this characteristic was in direct contrast to the particularism too often rife among the leaders of thought among the Palestinian Jews; the largeness of heart which could not restrict salvation to the children of Abraham was inseparable from the true *Diaspora*-Jew; [but see further on these points the chapter on Eschatology]. A third marked characteristic was the difference shown in their literature, which embodied the spirit and teaching just referred to.

II. The Pharisees.

The appearance of the Pharisees as a distinct party in the State dates from the time of John Hyrcanus (135-104

[1] Cf. Acts 17^{23} . . . *What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you.*

[2] Kautsch's edition.

B.C.) ; their great and distinctive characteristic was the strict observance of the Law, as interpreted and handed down by the *Scribes ;* they sought to carry out consistently in their lives the ideals thought out by the *Scribes ;* they were thus " the classic representatives of that tendency which the internal development of Israel altogether adopted during the post-exilian period." [1] The ideal of carrying out the precepts of the Law in all their minute details was, theoretically, one which all Jews sought to attain to ; but it was the Pharisees who set the example in this, and by their increasing endeavours became the national champions of Jewish legalism. Pharisaism implied not only the minute observance of the Mosaic Law, not only a strict regard for the precepts of the Oral Law as interpreted and handed down by the earlier Scribes, but also a further development of that Law as worked out by themselves, which was considered equally binding. The Pharisees, like the Sadducees, issued from the circles of the scribes, and though, as far as the particular duties of these latter were concerned, a certain differentiation is to be observed, yet all the scribes belonged either to the Pharisaic or Sadducean party. All the more influential scribes, however, were attached to the Pharisees, for it was these who really carried on the earlier work of the scribes ; they were the ones who in the wake of the scribes handed on the " traditions of the fathers." What the Gospel tells us on this point (Matt. 15^2, Mk. 7^3) receives corroboration from Josephus, who says : " The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses ; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers." [2] This

[1] Schürer *op. cit.* II, ii, 10. [2] *Antiq.* XIII, x, 6.

conflict between the two went very deep; but how completely the Pharisees won the day can be seen from the fact that ultimately it was not the written law, but the traditional interpretation of the Scribes and Pharisees which was appealed to as that which finally decided; so that in later days it could even be said that "it is more culpable to teach contrary to the precepts of the scribes than contrary to the Torah itself." [1]

As regards the special doctrinal beliefs of the Pharisees, Josephus gives us the following details: they ascribe all to providence, that is to say, to God, and yet allow that to act as is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate, or providence, does co-operate in every action. They believe, further, in the immortality of the soul; but as regards the resurrection of the body, it is only the souls of the good men which are "removed into other bodies," the souls of the wicked are "subject to eternal punishment." [2] In another passage this belief is explained more fully: "They believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again." [3] The influence that such teaching gained for the Pharisees among the people at large is vividly brought out by Josephus: "On account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they (the people) perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also." [4] According to Acts 23^8, the

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[1] *Sanhedrin* xi, 3. [2] *Bell. Jud.* II, viii, 14.
[3] *Antiq.* XVIII, i, 3. cf. Dan. 12^2. [4] *Ibid.*

Pharisees taught the existence of angels and spirits; this belief was not held by the Sadducees. It is strange that this doctrine of the Pharisees is nowhere referred to by Josephus, any more than its denial by the Sadducees; but both the belief and its denial are so obviously the logical outcome of what each party taught concerning the resurrection, that apparently it appeared unnecessary to make specific mention of it. There can be no sort of doubt that the passage in the Acts faithfully represents the actual facts.

The *data* given in the New Testament concerning the Pharisees coincide with what Josephus tells us, viz., that "they valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers,"[1] and as "those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws";[2] thus in Acts 26^5 S. Paul speaks of them as being *the straitest sect of our religion*, which he expresses in Phil. 3^5 by saying that as touching the law he was a Pharisee. In the Gospels this is fully illustrated; there we read of their strict observance of the Sabbath (Mk. 2^{24}, 3^{1-6}) of their fasting (Mk 2^{18}), of their practice of carrying out the *minutiæ* of the law (Mk. $7^{3, 4}$).[3] But the picture which the Gospels present of the *spirit* in which these legal observances were practised shows how utterly different the standpoint was between what tradition regarded as sufficient, namely, a mechanical routine, and what the demands of the new teaching were (see Matt. $23^{5, 13, 15}$, etc., Lk. $11^{33, 39}$ 18^{10-14}).

The name *Pharisee* illustrates the main Pharisaic characteristic of strict observance of the law, for this strictness of observance differentiated them from the rest of the people, in a word it "separated" them from the mass of the population; for "Pharisee" means literally "the separated one." Originally this name was one of

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[1] *Antiq.* XVII, ii, 4. [2] *Bell. Jud.* II, viii, 14.
[3] See further Matt. 23^{-39}; Luke 11^{39-52}.

reproach, given them by their adversaries, because on account of their own special "cleanness"—i.e., legal purity—they separated themselves from the bulk of the nation. According to Schürer this was certainly the original meaning of the name; it is not probable that they gave it to themselves because other "positive self-designations would have been more obvious to them, and in fact they first appear in history under the name of *Chassidim*" [1] (the "Pious"). But though originally given them as a term of reproach, it was one which from the Pharisees' point of view was regarded as quite appropriate; for they did consider themselves as "separated" from the bulk of the people by their superior holiness; while in their own circle they spoke of each other as *Chaberim* ("colleagues"), they regarded with contempt the mere common herd, the '*Am ha-aretz* ("the people of land"); cf. the words in John 7^{49}, *This multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed*, spoken by the Pharisees, which accords with what we read in Mark 2^{14-17}, Matt. 9^{9-13}, Luke 5^{27-32}, about their attitude towards *publicans and sinners*. "This exclusiveness of Pharisaism certainly justifies the calling of it an *hæresis*, a 'sect,' as is done both in the New Testament (Acts 15^5, 26^5) and by Josephus. Nevertheless it remains the fact, that it was the legitimate and classic representative of post-exilian Judaism in general. It did but carry out with relentness energy the consequences of its principle. Those only are the true Israel who observe the Law in the strictest manner. Since only the Pharisees did this in the full sense, they only were the true Israel, which was related to the remaining bulk of the people as these were to the heathen." [2]

III. The Scribes.

The rise of the Scribes is connected in the closest possible manner with the fact of the *Torah*. It will be seen in the

[1] *Op. cit.* II. ii. 21. [2] *Op. cit.* II. ii. 25.

Chapter on the Law what a complicated matter its study, and understanding, and exposition were; it followed, therefore, that the existence of a distinct body of experts on the subject became a necessity; and thus there arose the Scribes, with whom *Torah*-study was a matter of professional occupation. Originally this occupation belonged to the priesthood, for the priests were at first both the guardians and teachers of the Law. Ezra himself was both priest and *Sofer* ("Scribe").[1] But by degrees the study of the Law was pursued by others besides the priests—for the *Law* was meant equally for layman and priest, and the one had as much interest in it as the other—so that there arose an independent class of *Torah*-students, who in time supplanted the priests as teachers of the people, and became the recognized official exponents of the Law. At the same time, this did not necessarily exclude Scribes from being priests, for, on the testimony of Philo, we know that in the synagogues priests often undertook the duty of reading the Law and expounding it to the people,[2] a duty which belonged specifically to the Scribes; so that there is no reason to believe that Scribes were never priests. In the first instance, Scribes occupied themselves exclusively with study, they were not allowed to pursue any other calling, lest their thoughts should be withdrawn from *Torah*-study (see Ecclus. 38 $^{24ff.}$): *The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise . . .*"; but in later days it became an absolute duty for them to have some other calling besides, in order to earn a livelihood, the reason being that all labour for the Law had to be gratuitous. For the most part the Scribes, as we have seen, belonged to the Pharisaic party; but as the one qualification for being a Scribe consisted in being "learned in the

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[1] Ezra $7^{6, 10, 11}$; Neh. $8^{1, 4, 9, 13}$; $12^{26, 36}$.
[2] Cf. Holtzmann *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch*, p. 160.

Law," there must have been Scribes in the Sadducean party as well, indeed this is implied in the New Testament (see Mark 2^{16}, Luke 5^{30}, Acts 23^{9}). As the Scribes were occupied with the administration of the Law as well as with its study, they were also called "Lawyers" (see Matt. 22^{35}, Luke 7^{30}, 10^{25}, $11^{45, 46}$), or "teachers of the Law" (see Luke 5^{17}, Acts 5^{34}); "Lawyer" and "Scribe" are synonymous, for which reason they are never mentioned together in the New Testament. But as administrators of the Law it followed, in a natural course, that the Scribes should also be among those who saw to its being carried out; so that they also had the power of sitting as judges, and therefore also of passing sentence upon those who were guilty of breaking the Law. Hence Scribes were among those who composed the great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and as they were the ones whose special study of the Law made them experts, it cannot be doubted that their influence in this supreme court must have been considerable.

The difference between the Scribes and the Pharisees was briefly this—the Scribes handed down the traditional, i.e., the Oral Law as well as the Written Law, and explained it; the Pharisees carried out in actual practice what was prescribed. This, of course, does not mean to say that the Scribes did not also strictly observe the legal enactments; but that their special duties constituted them a class distinct from the Pharisees is clear from the way in which they are differentiated in the New Testament, for there we read of the "Scribes of the Pharisees" (Mark 2^{16}, Acts 23^{9}), and of "the Pharisees and their scribes" (Luke 5^{30}), showing clearly that the Scribes were distinct from the Pharisees.

IV. The Sadducees.

The name Sadducee takes its origin from that of Zadok the high-priest, whose family had exercised the priestly functions from the time of David (1 Chron. 15^{11}, 16^{39-40}).

In writing of the Sadducees Josephus says that their doctrine is "received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity," [1] and in another passage he writes: "The Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side." [2] These passages bear out what is elsewhere implied, that the Sadducees were the aristocratic party; for, as the New Testament points out (Acts 5^{17}), the high-priestly families belonged to the Sadducean party [3]; but from the commencement of the Persian period, it was the priests who governed the Jewish State and the priests in general constituted the nobility of the Jewish people.[4]

The origin, therefore, of the antagonism between Pharisees and Sadducees was probably owing to a difference in social standing, which became emphasized later on by political enmity, in the first instance, and still more by opposing religious speculations. The main opposition of the Sadducees to the Pharisees was based upon their view of the Oral Law; while they fully acknowledged the binding character of the Written Law, they repudiated the authority of the Oral Law; in the words of Josephus: "The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them." [5] When it is remembered that this involved the rejection of the great mass of legal precepts which the Scribes had so laboriously

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[1] *Antiq.* XVIII, i, 4.
[2] *Ibid.* XIII, x, 6.
[3] Cf. *Antiq.* XX, ix, 1.
[4] Schürer *op. cit.* II, ii, 29.
[5] *Antiq.* XIII, x, 6.

developed out of the Written Law, and which the Pharisees regarded as of equal authority with this latter, one can understand the irreconcileable antagonism which must have existed between the two parties. But although the Sadducees so exalted the Written Law above the Oral Law, it must not be supposed that they held slavishly to the letter of the Law ; that this was not so will be evident on considering the distinctive Sadducean religious tenets. Their adhesion to the Written Law, as opposed to the Oral, was prompted rather from the desire to have a sure basis upon which to ground their objections to Scribal accretions.[1] Regarding the special doctrines of the Sadducees, Josephus records that " they take away fate (providence) and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly." [2] Again : " The Sadducees take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil ; and they say, that to act what is good or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and each man attaches himself to the one or the other as he will. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades ; " [3] they held that " souls die with the bodies." [4] Such beliefs make it clear that, as said above, the Sadducees did not hold all too strictly to the letter even of the Written Law ; they permitted themselves a more independent scope for speculation. That they, furthermore, did not believe in spirits or angels we have already seen (see Acts 23 [8]). This negative belief was demanded by their refusal to believe in the immortality of the soul ; but if their belief

[1] Cf. Friedländer *Die rel. Bewegungen* . . . p. 14.
[2] *Antiq.* XIII, v, 9. [3] *Bell. Jud.* II, viii, 14.
[4] *Antiq.* XVIII, i, 4.

that God is not concerned with the affairs of men was the outcome of transcendental ideas regarding the Deity,[1] then one may wonder at their not believing in angels (see further ch. viii.).

V. The Essenes.

The Essenes offer a very interesting, but somewhat problematical, phenomenon in history. The meaning of their name is unknown, their origin is unknown, and they disappear from history—during the second century A.D. —without leaving a trace behind them. In some respects they remind one of the order of Good Templars, as these existed in the late Middle Ages, while their manner of life recalls in certain points the strict simplicity of the sons of Rechab, of whom we read in the Old Testament. Josephus, who is our chief authority on the subject, always speaks of the Essenes as a "genos" (lit. "a kind"), which implies a closer communion than a "hæresis" ("sect"), the term he applies to the Pharisees and Sadducees.[2] This agrees with what Philo says as to their numbers, namely that there were four thousand of them, though in other places they are spoken of as far more numerous. They lived in various parts of Palestine; the little community had a central house in each of the different cities and villages in which they settled; around this house they dwelt, but assembled in it for their religious observances, one of which was the common meal; at this meal special holy garments were worn, which were put off again when their wearers returned to work; a priest offered up prayer before and after the meal. In the evening another meal was partaken of; at this guests might be present; the greatest self-control and decorum reigned, food and drink were restricted to what was absolutely necessary; no more than one spoke at a time. They had no private property, everything was in common; all that

[1] Cf. Holtzmann, *op. cit.* p. 212. [2] *Ibid.* p. 216.

anyone earned was put into a common fund, from which any member could draw as need required; but the use of this fund was not restricted to members of the order; the poor and the sick generally were assisted from it. "Overseers," elected from among the members, administered the fund and regulated all the affairs of the order. Marriage was eschewed by the Essenes,[1] so that the order was only recruited from outside; whenever a new candidate sought admission he had to pass a three years' noviciate, and on being admitted he had, after submitting to a form of Baptism, to take solemn oaths to obey the rules of the Order and to observe its secrets. As to their deeply religious character, Josephus says: "Their piety towards God is very extraordinary; for, before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. . . . They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say that he who cannot be believed, without [swearing by] God is already condemned. . . ."[2] Further, before being admitted to the order, the aspirant had to take a very solemn oath that he would always be a lover of truth, and rebuke liars, that he would keep himself clear from thefts and all unlawful gains; above all, that he would always exercise piety towards God, and be just towards all men, that he would harm nobody, but that he would hate the wicked while always assisting the righteous.[3] If they fell into grievous sin they were cast out of the society; but on showing true repentance, and after having been

[1] "They neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels."—*Antiq.* XVIII, i, 5.

[2] *Bell Jud.* II, viii, 5, 6. [3] *Ibid.* II, viii, 7.

sufficiently punished, they might be received into the circle again. Their heroism Josephus describes as follows :—

"As for death, if it will come with glory, they esteem it better than immortality ; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt, and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, no nor once to flatter their tormentors or to shed a tear ; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again." [1] A strange fact about the Essenes was that they would never enter the Temple, lest they should become unclean through contact with the crowds there ; sacrifices were therefore not offered by them, but they nevertheless sent offerings to the Temple. Some religious grounds evidently lay at the back of their refusal to use oil, or to spit ; similar reasons must also account for other strange customs to which Josephus refers.[2]

As regards the *doctrines* of the Essenes, we are told, in the first place, that they affirm that "fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men, but what is according to its determination ;" [3] on this point, therefore, they and the Sadducees were at opposite extremes, while the Pharisees occupied a middle position between the two. Secondly, they had a great veneration for the Law ; as regards Sabbath-observance, Josephus tells us that "they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day . . ." [4] and Philo says :

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[1] *Ibid.* II, viii, 10.
[2] *Ibid.* II, viii, 3, 9.
[3] *Bell Jud.* XIII, v. 9.
[4] *Bell Jud.* II, viii, 9.

" Their pursuit of ethic is especially thorough since they take for instructors the laws of their fathers, which no human soul could possibly have conceived without Divine inspiration." [1] In their worship they read and expounded the Holy Scriptures, delighting especially in allegorical interpretation. A third point is this, in the words of Josephus: " The opinion is strongly held among them, that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And their opinion is like that of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind that is perpetually blowing from the ocean, while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never-ceasing punishments." [2] Lastly, the Essenes had an elaborate Angelology; the novices had to swear to keep secret the names of their angels; they believed further in the sanatory powers of roots, and in the properties of stones [3]; and they were accredited with the faculty of foretelling the future; Josephus says they were seldom mistaken in their predictions, and he gives three examples of the correctness of their prophecies.[4]

With regard to the difficult question of the relation of Essenism to early Christianity, it is not possible here to do more than refer to the matter. It is clear that our

[1] Quoted in Schürer *op. cit.* II, ii, p. 202.
[2] *Bell. Jud.* II, viii, 11.
[3] *Ibid.* II, viii, 6–12. I, iii, 5. II, vii, 3.
[4] *Antiq.* XIII, xi, 2; XV, x, 5; XVII, xiii, 3.

Lord, at any rate, with His frank acceptance of and joy in the social conditions of ordinary life could have been no Essene. See the matter fully discussed in Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen* . . . referred to above, and in *JE*, v, 231 ff. s.v., Essenes.

VI. The Karaites.

Although the rise of the Karaites dates in post-Talmudical times, a word may be appropriately said here regarding them, inasmuch as they appear, in their fundamental characteristic, as the spiritual descendants of the Sadducees. In its Hebrew form the word for Karaites is *Beni Mikra*, i.e., "Sons of reading." As their name implies, they professed to follow the teaching of what they read in the Bible, ignoring altogether that of the Rabbis. It is a repetition of the Sadducean attitude, viz., loyalty to the Written Law, but repudiation of the Oral Law. The rise of the Karaites was, in fact, a protest against Rabbinism, just as the existence of the Sadducean party was a protest against Pharisaism. The founder of the sect—which originated about 800 A.D.—was named Anan, and originally his followers were called, after him, Ananites; but as, in some respects, the tenets of the early Ananites became modified, they adopted the name of Karaites, which they have held ever since.

Karaism owes its origin as much to the influence of Mohammedanism as to Judaism, for it borrowed from Islam as well as from early Jewish sects, such as the Sadducees and Essenes. The Arabs, among whom the Jews lived, had enthusiastically accepted the simple faith which Mohammedanism originally was; but just as among the Jews the Talmud had arisen and become the prime authority in Jewry for explaining and amplifying the Law, so among the Mohammedans the "Sunnah" arose to supplement the teaching of the Koran. Each, the Talmud and the "Sunnah," sought to impose a more

elaborate and a stricter carrying-out of legal observances than was enjoined in either the Old Testament or the Koran. One result was that an Arab sect arose, the members of which protested against this stricter observance; their example was followed by a number of Jews who in a like spirit rebelled against Talmudism, and who thus originated the Ananite, later Karaite, sect. The desire of the Karaites to stick closely to the letter of Scripture soon involved them in considerable difficulties and sometimes in impossibilities; so that they were forced, to some extent, to modify their original position. They never reached large numbers; but they have continued to exist up to the present day, and are to be found in Jerusalem, Turkey, Egypt, and Russia. In one direction, however, the influence of the Karaite sect was profound and far-reaching. As already remarked, the main principle of Karaism was to regard Scripture as the sole authority in matters of faith; this meant, on the one hand, an entire disregard of all Rabbinical interpretation and tradition; but it entailed, on the other hand, a new examination of the text of Scripture. The Karaites, therefore, undertook a most minute and critical study of the Biblical text, a study which concerned itself with the smallest details, even down to the consideration of each individual letter. In order to oppose and refute the Karaite teaching which resulted from this examination of the text, the Rabbis were compelled to undertake a similar task. This critical study developed into a very keen contest between Rabbinic and Karaite champions. There is no doubt that the bulk of the work of compiling an authoritative text must be assigned to the heretical Karaites. The outcome of this literary conflict was of the highest importance, for it produced what is called the "Massoretic" text (from the Hebrew word *Massora*, "Tradition"); his is the text of the Hebrew Bible at the present day, and it is also that from which the English Bible (Old Testament) is translated.

VII. The Chassidim (The "Pious").

Leaving on one side the mystical Kabbalistic movement (thirteenth century),[1] which has had such a profound influence on later Judaism, especially among the unprogressive communities of eastern Europe, and which has left unmistakable traces on the Jewish Liturgy, a word must here be said about the remarkable sect of the *Chassidim*.

The rise of *Chassidism*, which may be dated from the death of its founder, Israel Baal Shem (died 1761), is one of the most remarkable events in the more recent history of Judaism. *Chassidism* marks, it has been well said, "a revolt among the Jews of Eastern Europe against the excessive casuistry of the contemporary Rabbis."[2] Kabbalistic influence, as would be expected, is prominent in these circles. The history of this remarkable sect, which at the present time numbers about half a million adherents in Europe, deserves more attention than it has received from students of religious history. Prof. Schechter, whose essay is by far the best available authority on the subject in English, goes on to remark: "It (*Chassidism*) was the protest of an emotional but uneducated people against a one-sided expression of Judaism, presented to them in cold and over-subtle

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[1] Kabbalistic teaching assumed its most extravagant proportions in the extensive work known as the *Zohar* (thirteenth century), which claims to be the production of R. Simon ben Jochai, the famous mystic of the second century. The *Zohar* in its present form, however, is in date more than a thousand years later. There was, undoubtedly, an earlier mystical tradition (*Kabbalah*) which can be traced to very early beginnings. This earlier tradition is embodied more or less in the *Sefer Yetsirah* (see *JE*, s.v., *Yezirah Sefer* xii, 602 f). The *Zohar* has exercised a considerable (and not always a healthy) influence on popular Judaism. It powerfully appealed to Christian students as well as to Jewish mystics, and has often been printed (in the Hebrew text). Too much importance has sometimes been assigned to it, especially by earlier Christian scholars, and notably by Gfrörer.

[2] Schechter, *Studies*, pp. 1 ff. Essay on *Chassidism*.

disquisitions which not only did they not understand, but which shut out the play of the feelings and of the affections, so that religion was made almost impossible to them." [1]

An attractive study of the founder of *Chassidism* is to be found in Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, pp. 201-257.

VIII. Minor Divisions.

For the sake of completeness the following minor divisions among the Jews must here be mentioned: (*a*) The Chinese Jews, an interesting survival; (*b*) the B'nei Israel, in Bombay and other parts of India; (*c*) The Yemenite Jews, i.e., the Jews of southern Arabia; (*d*) The Falashas i.e., the Jews of Abyssinia. Fuller details as to these communities can be found in two articles in the *JQR* (viii, 123 ff., x, 584 ff.) on the liturgy and rites of the Chinese Jews, by Neubauer and Elkan Adler; *The Jews in India and the Far East*, by J. H. Lord; *JE*, art. "Yemen," xii, 592–594; *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, by H. A. Stern.

IX. The Reform Jews.

Lastly, since the time of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), various Jewish communities on the Continent, in England, and especially in America, have, in varying degrees, abandoned the rigid and unbending attitude characteristic of Jewish orthodoxy, and put themselves, with greater or less freedom, under the influence of Liberal ideas. Reform Judaism, however, in spite of the ethical fervour that usually marks its adherents, is the result rather of the operation within Judaism of the disintegrating forces of Western culture than of any deep-seated religious motive-power. It is painfully deficient in anything like religious warmth.

The main and fundamental difference between Orthodox,

[1] Schechter, *Studies*, p. 2.

or Conservative, and Reform, or Liberal, Jews lies here: the former, as of old, declare that the laws concerning sacrifice and Levitical purity are integral parts of Judaism; the latter deny this.[1] It follows quite naturally that as the authority of the Bible is disputed, so that of the *Talmud* should also be called in question.

Between the extremes of Orthodoxy and Liberalism lies the so-called "Breslau School," with Zacharias Fränkel at its head. The champions of this intermediate position endeavour to smile on both Orthodoxy and Reform Judaism by coupling the cry, "Positive Historical Judaism," with the principle of tempering Conservatism with Reform. They no longer believe in the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, nor in the divine character of tradition.[2] Clearly, therefore, the middle party cannot be regarded as belonging to the orthodox party at all; their position would be more correctly defined as Moderate Liberals. But even among the Reform Jews there is not unanimity. It is admitted that there are many who might rightly be called "indifferentists"; religion does not appeal to some, to others Judaism is far off and uninteresting; these, it is said, "will remain quietly discontented and distant, while their children may be expected to drop off more completely still, or to join other religious denominations."[3]

It is, however, not enough to say that the repudiation of the authority of Bible and Talmud is alone that which has brought about the Reform Movement; there is no doubt that many Jews have never really taken the trouble to think out for themselves whether or not these authorities are binding and why they should or should not be. Leading men among the Jews, to whom religion was of the deepest import, noticed with sorrow that attendance at divine worship in the synagogue was getting worse

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[1] *JE*, vii, 367.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *JQR*, xii, pp. 620–622.

and worse ; what was the reason of this ? According to one of the leaders of the Reform Movement, there were several reasons ; it will be instructive to examine these very briefly.

1. The Services in Synagogue are conducted in Hebrew —i.e., in a language "not understanded of the people." This will come as a surprise to many Christians, who are, for the most part, under the impression that Hebrew is the current language of the Jews. But this is not the case. Every boy is taught Hebrew in the Jewish schools, but the majority do not keep it up after leaving school. The language of a large proportion of the Jews in England is not English, it is true, nor is it Hebrew, but Yiddish, a corrupt form of German. The fact is that when Jews go to Synagogue, most of them understand very little of the language in which the Services are conducted. The Jewish Prayer-Book has Hebrew on one side and English on the other, so as to be of some help ; but obviously, if Hebrew is not known, it must be very difficult to follow the service even with a translation. The result is that many, finding it impossible to take an intelligent part in Synagogue Service, stay away altogether.
2. Many complain of the dulness and uninspiring nature of the Services ; they are very long and a great part is taken up with the Reading of the Law, "which is often dull and unspiritual," and the method of reading, a kind of nasal droning, is certainly not calculated to inspire listeners.
3. Then, it is said that the congregation are unable to take any active part in the service ; there is no singing, at least for them, no organ, and no opportunity for lifting up the voice in praise and thanksgiving.
4. Again, there are customs, ancient customs, in

vogue in the Synagogue which are alien to the modern, or at least to the Western, mind; e.g., no women are allowed in the body of the Synagogue, they have to sit in a high gallery closely railed off from the rest of the building; the wearing of the Praying-shawl and Phylacteries appears ludicrous to many Western minds.

5. One other reason is of great significance; the chief service is on Saturday (Sabbath) morning; the world around them is busy, while the Jews are in Synagogue. What this means to the Jew in the city, in the warehouse and in the shop, needs no explaining.[1]

But perhaps the most potent reason of all, at least for the cultured, intellectual Jews, who are the backbone of the Reform Movement, is the following, which is given in the words of one of themselves: "I do not attend the Synagogue because (apart from the historic interests connected with the ancient cult) I have no sympathy with and cannot realize the benefits that can be derived from the services performed in the Synagogue or with the recitals of narratives relating to the early history, which, being miraculous, and of the highest improbability, I cannot regard as true, or to speak frankly, of any value whatever. The theories of ethics that I hear are not those which I believe, and, to use general terms *my mind is transferred into a totally different sphere of thought.* And as I am unable to accept the doctrines inculcated within the Synagogue, I, as every honest thinker would do, absent myself from attendance at the services. The position I am bound to assume, is, I regret to say, not only absence of sympathy with, but actual repugnance to, the whole scheme of Judaism. I cannot accept the chief dogmas which underlie historic Judaism. I cannot comprehend the 'Chosen People.'

[1] Cf. C. Montefiore, *JQR*, xii, pp. 624 ff.

It is a phrase that has no meaning to me. The Divine Revelation at Sinai is to me a legendary epic of unknown authority. The miraculous element is to my mind injurious to piety, and creates in me the sentiment of repulsion. Without considering whether miracles can or cannot take place, it is no exaggeration to allege that no recorded miracle rests on evidence sufficiently trustworthy to convince any but the most credulous of mankind. Judaism rests on the 'Book' and on tradition—neither support can be regarded at the present day as valid." [1] And so on for a number of pages;—the most curious part of it all is that a thinking man, whether Jew or Gentile, who presumably is not ignorant of the questions of the day, should be found to take up a position as antiquated as the seventeenth century atheist; things have moved since those days, and the intellectual unbeliever of to-day uses far more cogent arguments than the mere assertion that miracles cannot happen. That, however, by the way, the point for us to notice is that this attitude is characteristic of thousands of Jews to-day, many, no doubt, not quite so extreme as the writer quoted. *But this attitude is one of the characteristics of Modern Judaism.*

It therefore cannot be wondered at that among Jewish religious leaders, there are to be found some who feel impelled to employ new methods in seeking to stem this tide of unbelief.

It is thus that the Reform Movement has come into being.

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[1] *JQR*, xiii, p. 64; see the whole article, pp. 63–85.

The Reader at the Desk (or Bema)

(See p. 311)

To face p. 134

PART II. DOGMATIC JUDAISM.

CHAPTER VII.

The Law.

The *Torah* the final Revelation of God for all Time—Salvation only through the *Torah*—The Legalistic Element in Jewish Piety—Israel the People of the *Torah*—Christ and the Law—The Oral Tradition.

[Literature :—*HJP*, II, ii, pp. 90–125; Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, pp. 57–62; Weber, pp. 1–47; Bousset, pp. 87–120; Toy, *Judaism and Christianity;* Holtzmann, pp. 322–353 *JE*, art. *Torah*.]

I. The Torah the Final Revelation of God for all Time.

Nothing reveals more truly the real essence of Judaism than the position assigned by it to the *Law* or *Torah*. This was the great theme of controversy between the early Church as represented by St. Paul and Gentile-Christian communities, and the Synagogue. A full discussion of that controversy would be out of place here; but it may be said that some injustice has unquestionably been done to the Jewish position by Christian theologians. The *Law* was by no means usually the burden that it has been supposed to be to pious Jews; but the apologists of Judaism as a rule forget that what St. Paul was mainly concerned to secure was the freedom of non-Jews from the yoke of the *Law*. He felt that this yoke was intolerable to all who were not born Jews, or who wished to be something more than Jews of the orthodox type; in other words, he felt that a legalistic religion was incompatible with the claims of a *world-religion*. *Was any man called being circumcized? Let him not become uncircumcized;*

hath any been called in uncircumcision, let him not be circumcized (1 Cor. 7^{18}).[1]

It was by means of the *Torah*, so the Rabbis taught, that God revealed Himself to His people. In it the Divine Mind was reflected, and in it the Divine Will was stated once for all; "that which is of the *Torah* needs not confirmation"[2]; i.e., there is no appeal from the decisions of the *Torah*. It contained, moreover, the essence of the Divine Wisdom; indeed, it is again and again stated in Rabbinical literature that *Wisdom* and the *Torah* are identical.[3]

> This is also true of the Apocryphal Writings, see Ecclus. 24; after the praise of Wisdom (vv. 1–22), there follow these words (v. 23): *All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the* TORAH *which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob.*[4] See, too, Baruch, 4^{1} (cf. Kautsch *in loc.*, and Taylor's *Pirke Aboth* (p. 173).

A thing that so closely corresponded with the mind of God, and expressed the fulness of His Wisdom, must logically have existed with God from all eternity; in fact, the *Torah* was not to be reckoned among created things in the ordinary sense, for its pre-existence before the Creation takes it out of the category of created things. This is practically stated in so many words in *Bereshith rabbah* c. 8, and *Pesikta* 109^{a}, where it is said that the *Torah* is two thousand years older than the Creation. But the identification of Wisdom with the *Torah* necessitated caution; for if, as certainly was the case, Wisdom was personified, and existed before the Creation, which was believed to be the case, then we get a *personality* other than God in existence before the Creation, and this would, of course,

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[1] For an excellent exposition of the Jewish point of view in criticism of St. Paul, see an article by Mr. C. G. Montefiore, "Rabbinic Judaism and the Epistles of St. Paul," in *JQR*, xiii (Jan., 1901).

[2] *Rosh hashanah* 19^{a}.

[3] *Midrash Tanchuma, Bereshith*, passim; see *JE*, xii, 197.

[4] See further the notes on this passage in Kautsch.

have endangered the fundamental Jewish tenet of the Unity of God. In order to avoid this, it was taught that although the *Torah* existed before the Creation, it was nevertheless the result, too, of an act of creation on God's part. The existence of the *Torah* before the Creation, though itself created, is taught, for example, in *Bereshith rabbah* c. 1: "Six things preceded the Creation of the world; among them were such as were themselves truly created, and such as were decided upon before the Creation, the *Torah* and the throne of glory were truly created." The teaching that the *Torah* expresses the fulness of the Divine Mind is fully in accordance with the idea that God and the *Torah* are inseparable; this is illustrated in a beautiful little parable from the *Midrash*:[1]

> It is as though a king had an only daughter; and one of the kings comes and marries her. He then wants to return to his own country and to take his wife back with him. Then the king says to him: "She whom I have given to thee is my only daughter; I cannot bear to be separated from her; yet I cannot say to thee, Take her not, for she is thy wife. But show me this kindness: wherever thou goest prepare me a chamber that I may dwell with you, for I cannot bear to be separated from my daughter." Thus spake the Holy One to Israel: "I gave you the *Torah*; I cannot separate myself from it; yet I cannot say to you, Take it not. But whithersoever ye journey make Me a house wherein I may dwell." For it is said: *And let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them* (Exod. 25[8]).

The supreme importance, however, of the *Torah* lies in the fact of its being the final revelation of God for all time. Everything that is needed for salvation is contained in the *Torah*, and therefore nothing can ever supplement it; it is the expression of the Divine Will and Purpose which holds good for all eternity. As it existed before the world was created, so it will continue to exist after the world has come to an end, for as it contains God's revelation of Himself to man it must of necessity continue for ever. This lasting character of the *Torah* is

[1] Weber, p. 17.

referred to even in the Apocrypha, for in Baruch 4[1] we read :—

> She (i.e., Wisdom) is the book of God's commands,
> The *Torah* that abideth to eternity;
> All that hold by her [shall attain] to life,
> They that forsake her shall die.

So, too, in Wisdom 18[4], there is mention made of the "eternal light of the *Torah*." In later writings we find the same thing, e.g., in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 33 the *Torah* is spoken of as being "a possession for eternity"; elsewhere it is said that the *Torah* alone among all the books of Holy Scripture will endure to eternity; all the other books of the Bible will disappear, having served their purpose, but the *Torah* can never become antiquated, nor will it ever become unnecessary; "the Prophets and the Hagiographa will cease, but the five books of *Torah* will not cease," *Megillah*, i, 7.

Quite in accordance with this teaching that the *Torah* is the absolute, final, and eternal revelation of God Almighty, is the further teaching that it was intended for all mankind. This seems, at first sight, to run counter to the Jewish contention that they are the "chosen people," the "peculiar" treasure of God, and appears to modify the idea of their exclusiveness; but it is not really so; indeed, what is taught tends rather to emphasize this latter, for it is said that, although God originally intended His *Torah* to be a revelation of Himself and of His sovereign will to all nations, yet that only Israel accepted it when it was given; in fact, this acceptation of it on the part of Israel enhances the sense of their superiority over all other nations; and the "fence" around the *Law* which, in consequence, the teachers of the *Law* so diligently and painfully erected, became a barrier between Israel and the nations, and contributed still further to the exclusiveness of the Jew. What its confessors regarded as their chief glory became in the eyes of the non-Jew a source of reproach.

II. Salvation is through the "Torah."

The true Jew is prepared to lose everything so long as he retains the *Torah*, for if he has that he has eternal salvation. In *Pirke Aboth* vi, 7 it is said: "Great is *Torah* which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come." The *Torah* is the source of life, according to *Sifre* 84[a]: "As water gives life to the world, so do the words of the *Torah* give life to the world"; by the life which the *Torah* gives is meant eternal life. So, too, in *Shir rabbah* i, 2 the *Torah* is compared to water: "As water refreshes the body so does the *Torah* refresh the soul." The thought in these passages strongly reminds one of Jn. 4[14]: *Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst: but the water that I shall give him shall become to him a well of water springing up unto eternal life.* Perhaps even more striking in this connexion are the words of Christ, as recorded by the Fourth Evangelist, on the last day of the feast (7[38]): *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, as the Scripture* (Isa. 12[3]) *hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* Remembering that so much which is preserved in the Rabbinical writings was traditional teaching for centuries before it was reduced to writing, it is scarcely fanciful to see in these words from the Gospel, Christ contrasting the real salvation which He brought with that which the words of the *Torah* were believed by the Jews to bring.

This figurative use of *water* in connexion with the *Torah* may be paralleled by a similar use of bread, as symbolic of the *Torah* in its character of spiritual food, i.e., that which sustains the life of the soul unto eternity; for example, the words of Isa. 3[1] *the whole stay of bread*, are explained as referring to the *Torah* (*Shabbath* 120[a]); likewise in *Bereshith rabbah* 70 it is said that the proselyte may find in Israel the "bread of the *Torah*." Here, again, we are reminded of the well-known words of Christ, *I am the bread of life* (Jn. 6[35, 48, 51, 58]). In very significant

contrast to what the Jews taught about the *Torah* is what Christ teaches in verses 32, 33 of the same chapter : *Verily, verily, I say unto you, it was not Moses* (i.e., the *Torah*) *that gave you the bread out of heaven, but my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of Heaven, and giveth life unto the world,* (see also v. 58). Obviously "life" here is " eternal life," just that life which, according to Jewish teaching, the " bread of the *Torah* " gave.

Again, the *Torah* is said to be like wine ; as wine rejoices the heart in a temporal sense, so the *Torah* rejoices the heart after a spiritual manner (see *Shir rabbah* i, 2). One recalls, in this connexion, the words of Christ in Jn. 15^{1}, *I am the true vine . . .* ; and more especially Jn. $6^{55, 56}$ *. . . My blood is drink indeed,* and cf. Mark 12^{23-25}.

Once more, it was taught that the *Torah* gives light to the spiritual understanding, a light which was the guide to eternal life ; for example, the words in Num. 6^{25}, *The Lord make His face to shine* (lit. " give light ") *upon thee,* is explained as meaning the light of the *Torah* (*Sifre* 12^{a}) ; again in *Debarim rabbah* c. 7, we read : " As oil gives light to the world, so too do the words of the *Torah* give light to the world." With this we may compare, again, the words of Christ in Jn. 8^{12}, *I am the Light of the world ;* the reference to the *Torah* a little further on in the chapter (v. 17), makes it very probable that these words were intended to contrast the teaching of Christ with that of official Judaism concerning the *Law ;* the same must be said of the words of the Evangelist : *There was the true light* (i.e., not the false light of the *Torah*), *even the light which lighteth every man coming into the world,* Jn. 1^{9} ; here again, the words gain in significance by the reference to the *Law* a little further on (v. 17) : *For the law was given by Moses ; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Another, and from the Christian doctrinal point of view exceedingly important, way in which the *Torah* is seen to be the means of salvation, is the *merit* which is

imputed to those who observe its decrees; in fact, we touch here, though but incidentally, upon the general subjects of *Works*, of which the greatest is obedience to the precepts of the *Torah*.[1]

We may note, first of all, these important words from *Pirke Aboth*, ii, 2;[2] "Excellent is *Torah*-study together with worldly business, for the practice of them puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all *Torah* without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity. And let all who are employed with the congregation act with them in the name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers sustains them, and their righteousness stands for ever. And ye yourselves shall have reward reckoned unto you as if ye had wrought." Again, in ii, 8 we have: "He who has gotten to himself words of *Torah* has gotten to himself the life of the world to come." The pre-eminent merit of studying the *Torah* is well brought out in vi, 1: "Whosoever is busied in *Torah* for its own sake merits many things; and not only so, but he is worth the whole world; he is called friend, beloved; he loves God, loves mankind; he pleases God, pleases mankind." Once more: "Great is *Torah*, which gives life to those who practise it in this world and in the world to come." Then, further, it is said, in *Chagigah* 12^{b}, that a cord of grace is drawn in the future world by God around those who study the *Torah;* in *Genesis R.* 23[4] it is said that "the righteous have the power to change the attribute of justice to the attribute of mercy." The condition of righteousness, however, is strict observance of the *Torah;* this is the Alpha and Omega of the religion of the Synagogue. As expressive of the high merit attaching to those who study the *Torah*, it is said in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 51 that death has no power over such; as in the *Torah* all is contained that is required both in this world

[1] See further the chapter on "The Jewish Doctrine of Sin," ch. xii. [2] Taylor's edition, pp. 28, 29.

and in the world to come, he that faithfully studies the *Torah* and observes its precepts is doing all that lies in his power to ensure for himself eternal life ; therefore one is not surprised to read in *Sifre* 40[a], for example, that it is the *Torah* which leads men to eternal life in the next world ; in other words, the *Torah* is the medium, and its study is the condition, of immortality. It is worth recalling in this connexion the striking words in Jn. 11[26] : *Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die.*

What must strike the Christian reader in considering the quotations given above—and others of a like nature could be given to almost any extent—is the fact that the initative in doing anything that is good seems to lie solely with man ; man is justified both in his own eyes, and in the sight of God by doing these " works of the Law " ; and since salvation is through the Law it follows logically that the attainment of salvation is a matter for man's unaided exertions ; this is certainly not the teaching of either Biblical, Apocryphal or Pseudepigraphical literature, nor, as we shall see in a later section, would it fairly represent the teaching of present-day Judaism ; but it does seem to be characteristic of Rabbinical teaching proper, at all events as crystallized in the Talmud and allied writings. We shall have to return to the subject of " Works " later on ; it is sufficient to point out in the present connexion that it must clearly have been the more specific Rabbinical teaching of which St. Paul was thinking when he said, for example : *By him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses* (Acts 13[39]), or when he wrote : *By grace ye have been saved through faith ; and that not of yourselves ; it is the gift of God ; not of works, that no man should glory* (Eph. 2[8-9]). This Pauline teaching is identical with that of the Founder of Christianity as expressed, for example, in such words as : *Apart from Me ye can do nothing* (Jn. 15[5]), or as more elaborately set forth in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard

(Matt. 20^{1-16}). As we have seen, Rabbinical teaching was quite contrary to this; according to it, salvation was through the *Law*, and the observance of the *Law* or *Torah* was purely a matter of the individual will.

III. The Legalistic Element in Jewish Piety.

What has been said in the preceding section receives emphasis in considering that the essence of Jewish piety consisted in love to the *Torah*. Faith, Obedience, Love, and every virtue, had as their condition single-hearted observance of the *Torah*. All that was done in the way of what was right was done in reference to the *Torah*; the whole of man's relations with God were conditioned by faithful adherence to the *Torah;* it was the guide in all things, heavenly as well as earthly. This is pointedly brought out in St. Paul's words: *so that the Law has been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith is come, we are no longer under a tutor* (Gal. $3^{24, 25}$).

The Rabbis cited all kinds of queer examples of how the patriarchs and other heroes of old showed forth their piety by obedience to the *Torah*; they were the patterns upon which Jews of all ages were required to frame their manner of life. For example, it was said that Adam was created on the day before the Sabbath, in order that he might commence life by an act of *Torah*-observance, viz., in keeping the Sabbath (*Sanhedrin* 38^{a}); again, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob kept as many *Mitzvoth* (i.e., "Commandments of the Law") as there are waves in the sea (*Sanhedrin* 94^{b}), a picturesque way of expressing "without number." Such acts of piety were done in imitation of divine example, for it was firmly believed that God Almighty was both a diligent student of the *Torah*, and also *Himself* obeyed its precepts. In *Aboda zarah* 3^{b} we read: "There are twelve hours in the day; during the first three the Holy One sits down and occupies Himself with the *Torah*"; even in the *Targum* similar ideas are

entertained, thus in the *Jerusalem Targum* to Deut. 32^4, it says: "For three hours (daily) does He (God) occupy Himself with the *Torah*." Further, in *Bereshith rabbah* c. 49 we read that, according to Rabbi Jehuda, "there is no day on which the Holy One does not announce a new *Halakah* to the Sanhedrin above. And just as the Most High deeply meditates upon the mysteries of the *Torah*, so does He also fulfil its precepts." Once more, in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 3 we read: "The way of the Holy One, Blessed be He, is not like the way of flesh and blood. He that is of flesh and blood teaches others how they should act, but does not do as he teaches. Not so the Holy One, but what He Himself does, that He commands Israel to do and observe."

Clearly no piety could be deeper than that which took as its pattern the acts of God Himself, and therefore fulfilling the legal enactments of the Mosaic Law was most earnestly striven after. But when it is realized that this form of piety, this mere fulfilling of legal requirements, was *per se* believed to justify man in the sight of God, then one can understand better the point of many a Pauline saying on the subject of the *Law*; such are, for example, Rom. 3^{20}: *By the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified*; 5^{28}: *We reckon, therefore, that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the Law*; 6^{14}: *Ye are not under Law, but under grace*; cf. further 7^6; 8^3; 9^{31} f.; Gal. 2^{15} ff., 3^{11} ff. One can easily understand how repugnant teaching of this kind must have been to the Jews in St. Paul's day; it fully accounts for the fierce enmity which he encountered at their hands.

IV. Israel the People of the Law.

We have seen above that the *Torah* was believed to have been offered to all men originally, but that Israel alone, among all the nations of the world, accepted it (*Pesikta* 186^a). It was this fact that constituted the children of

Israel the "Chosen People" of God.[1] The titles "Chosen People," "Peculiar treasure," the "People of God" had their *raison d'être* in the fact that the Israelites were the people of the *Law*. By their acceptance of the divine revelation at Sinai the Israelites believed themselves to be a *holy* nation in a sense in which it was impossible for any other nation to be. A relationship was here formed which made them in a very special way the "People of God." In the prophetical writings this relationship between the nation of Israel and God is likened to that of a wife and her husband (e.g., Hos. 2^2, Isa. 54^6; 62^5). The same thought is found also in Rabbinical literature; for example, in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 51, after the nation has been referred to as Jehovah's spouse, it is said that the nuptials were celebrated at the giving of the *Law* on Mount Sinai. The identical thought, as is well known, is found in the New Testament regarding Christ and His Church (Eph. 5^{22-32}). Another way in which the fact of Israel being the people of the *Law* is emphasized is by describing them as the people of the *Covenant;* the Old Testament teaching on the Covenant at Sinai is often re-echoed in later Jewish writings; in *Wayyikra rabbah* c. 6 we read of the covenant between God and Israel as that between the "God of the *Torah*" and the "people of the *Torah*." This, too, is a thought which finds expression in the New Testament, see especially Gal. 3^{15-17}, 4^{24}, Heb. 8^6 ff.

The keeping of the *Law* by the Israelites differentiated them from all other nations of the world; and the feeling of superiority over these which resulted from this had the natural tendency of increasing among the Israelites the spirit of exclusiveness, for the "holy nation" felt that they would become polluted if they came into contact with the profane outside world. How this feeling was fostered from the time of Ezra onwards we have already seen

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[1] Cf. the words of the prophet: *You only have I known of all the families of the earth* (Am. 3^2).

(ch. i). In post-biblical Jewish literature this is well expressed in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 33, where it is said that the Gentiles may have nothing to do with the *Torah*, because it has been entrusted to Israel in the same way that a wife is entrusted to her husband. In *Zebachim* 116[a] an old tradition is preserved, according to which Balaam said to the Gentile Kings: "Jehovah has a precious jewel in His treasure-house, which was held hidden for nine hundred and seventy-four generations before the creation of the world; this treasure He will give to His children (i.e., the Israelites)." So that this "treasure of treasures," as the *Torah* is also called, became the exclusive possession of the chosen people; the Gentiles having once refused it, would not understand it now, even if it were offered to them; therefore the Jews were forbidden to speak to them about the mysteries of their *Torah*. One is reminded of the words in Matt. 7[6]: *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,*[1] *neither cast your pearls before swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you.*

The cleavage which this attitude occasioned between Jew and Gentile was naturally very marked; the need of it is insisted on again and again in Jewish writings, nor are signs of it wanting in the Gospels; for example in Matt. 10[5, 6] we read: *Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;* or again 15[24]: *I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;* 7[6] and 15[26] have already been referred to.

V. Christ and the Law.

It will not be inappropriate here to devote a short section to this subject. In studying the attitude of Christ to the *Law* as presented in the Gospels, it will be noticed that the evidence is of a two-fold character; two sets of

[1] A word similar to this is used of the Gentiles in Matt. 15[26].

passages come before us which seem to differ in what they tell us concerning Christ in His attitude towards the *Law*. On the one hand, Christ recognizes the validity of the *Law* and emphasizes its binding character; this is clear from such passages as the following:—Matt. $5^{17, 18}$, *Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished*, cf. Luke 16^{17}. Again, Matt. 7^{12}: *All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them; for this is the law and the prophets*. Luke 16^{29} . . . *They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them*; see, further, Matt. 5^{19}; 12^{5}; 19^{17}; 23^{3}; Luke 10^{26}. Not only does Christ thus emphasize the authority of the *Law*, but He rebukes the Pharisees for their wrong observance of it; *Ye have made void the word* [1] *(law) of God because of your tradition*, Matt. 15^{6}; . . . *and have left undone the weightier matters of the law*. . . Matt. 23^{23}. While passages like these show Christ's zeal for the *Law*, there are, on the other hand, not a few in which Christ manifests a certain depreciation of it; for example the whole passage, Mk. 2^{18-22}, (with the parallel passages in Matt. and Luke,) especially vv. 21 and 22: *No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on an old garment: else that which should fill it up taketh from it, the new from the old, and a worse rent is made. And no man putteth new wine into old wine-skins, else the wine will burst the skins, and the wine perisheth, and the skins; but they put new wine into fresh wine-skins*. Luke 16^{16}: *The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom is preached;* cf. Matt. 9^{17}.

These few quotations will suffice to illustrate this

[1] The context shows that the *Law* is referred to; some ancient authorities read *law* instead of *word*.

twofold attitude towards the *Law*, which is probably to be explained by the two following considerations. Though, in general, Christ recognized the validity of both the letter and the spirit of the *Law*, it is clear that the Pharisaic interpretation of the *Law* called forth Christ's condemnation as violating at times both the letter and the spirit of it. In such cases it was, therefore, not the *Law* that Christ condemned, but the Pharisaic interpretation of it; for example, Matt. 23[23, 24], *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hyprocrites; for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith; but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel;* Mark 7[9-13], *Full well do ye reject the commandments of God, that ye may keep your tradition . . . . making void the word of God by your tradition which ye have delivered.* See further, Matt. 5[20]; 23[3, 4]; Luke 11[42, 46, 52]. In none of these passages does Christ seem to condemn the *Law* itself, but rather the Pharisaic traditions which had unwarrantably added burdens to it which it was never intended that men should bear.

But there is a further consideration which is worth emphasizing. It will not be questioned that by degrees Christ's realization—as far as His human nature was concerned—of His mission on earth became fuller;[1] deeper and wider conceptions arose regarding the all-embracing, world-wide character of His Kingdom on earth; that He and His teaching would of necessity transcend all limitations must have been a conviction which asserted itself with ever-increasing insistence. And if this was so, then He must have recognized more and more the temporary character of the *Law*, and His words in Matt. 11[13], Luke 16[16],—*The law and the prophets were*

[1] Cf. the words in Luke 2[52], *And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature . . .*

until John ; from that time the Gospel of the Kingdom of God is preached,—become very pregnant with meaning ; and even such a passage as Matt. $5^{17, 18}$, which so emphasizes the validity of the *Law*, may, in view of the words " till all things be accomplished," be really witnessing to its temporary character ; for one may take it that the " all things " refer to Christ's work on earth.[1] Then, too, the attitude of St. Paul towards the *Law*, which has not infrequently been regarded as antagonistic to Christ's example, is seen to be based, in effect, upon the later attitude of Christ Himself ; for if our surmise, mentioned above, be correct, it will be abundantly evident that, in reality, Christ was equally anxious with St. Paul to " break down the middle wall of partition " (Eph. 2^{14}).

The Oral Tradition.

A word must here be added regarding the authority of the Jewish *Oral Law*. This matter has an important bearing on the modern criticism of the Pentateuch (*The Torah*) as affecting Judaism. It might seem as if the acceptance of modern critical results regarding the composite nature and varying dates of the elements that make up the Pentateuch must undermine the whole historical basis on which Judaism is reared. But these consequences do not necessarily follow. A Jewish theory of development based upon the view that the whole body of tradition as accepted by the living community — the Synagogue — constitutes the essence of Judaism has been developed. Its most brilliant exponents have been Krochmal (1785–1841), Rappoport (1790–1867), and Zunz (1794–1886).[2] These scholars not only accepted, to a large extent, the main results of modern biblical criticism, but even contributed their own share to these ; they sought to

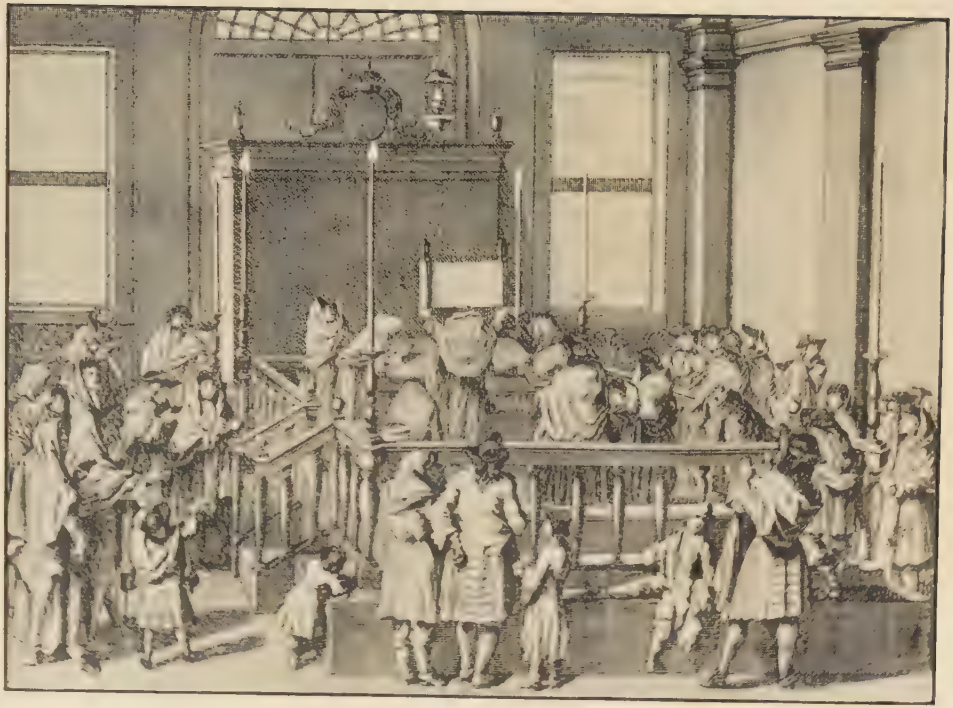
[1] Cf. John 17^{4}, *I glorified Thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which Thou gavest me to do.*

[2] See the valuable introductory essay in Schechter's *Studies* (London, 1896).

compensate for the loss of the Bible as formerly interpreted by elevating the authority of tradition. And Jewish tradition, it need scarcely be added, is mainly embodied in the *Oral Law*, which on the Rabbinical view is regarded as expressing the secondary meaning of the Scriptures. The origin of tradition in this sense was placed by Zunz in the Bible itself, and its continuity has been unbroken down to the present time. The voice of God is still heard, if no longer through prophets, yet through the mouth of "the scribes, the sages, the interpreters, the *Law*," and in the Synagogue Liturgy. "Indispensable," says Zunz, "is the free Spoken Word. Mankind has acquired all its ideal treasures only by Word of Mouth; an education continuing through all stages of life. In Israel, too, the Word of Instruction transmitted from mouth to mouth was never silenced." [1]

All this is nothing more nor less than the Jewish counterpart of the Christian doctrine of the living Catholic Church; and this is explicitly stated in Prof. Schechter's essay. "Since . . . the interpretation of Scripture, or the Secondary Meaning, is mainly the product of changing historical influences, it follows that the centre of authority is actually removed from the Bible, and placed in some *living body* which, by reason of its being in touch with the ideal aspirations and religious needs of the age, is best able to determine the nature of the Secondary Meaning. This living body, however, is not represented by any section of the nation, or any corporate priesthood, or Rabbi-hood, but by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel, as embodied in the universal synagogue. The Synagogue 'with its long continuous cry after God for more than twenty-three centuries,' with its unremittent activity and teaching and developing the word of God, with its uninterrupted succession of Prophets, Psalmists, Scribes, Assideans, Rabbis, Patriarchs,

[1] Cited in Schechter, *op. cit.* p. xx.



The "Hagbahah" or Elevation of the Scroll of the Law

(See p. 353)

To face p. 150

Interpreters, Elucidators, Eminences, Teachers, with its glorious record of saints, martyrs, sages, philosophers, scholars and mystics; this Synagogue, the only true witness to the past, and forming in all ages the sublimest expression of Israel's life, must also retain its authority as the sole true guide to the present and future." [1]

As illustrating the views of another modern exponent of Jewish thought, the following passage is also instructive: "We must uphold Truth as the foundation of our Judaism. Not in a spirit of arrogance or contempt for the ignorance of the past, but with all humility. . . . The things we regard to-day as fictions were honestly believed by our forefathers to be true in their day, and we imply no pride or assumption of superiority, no slur or censure on their early historians, when their statements are discredited by our altered views due to the advance of human knowledge. If it be our duty to be honest and truthful to our fellow-men, surely it must be no less a duty to be honest and truthful to ourselves and to our conscience. In Religion then, seeing that God is the God of Truth, Truth must have precedence over all other considerations, and we must recognize that Religion can only continue to exist if founded on Truth and Reason." [2]

The views just sketched are, however, by no means universally shared by the official exponents of present-day Judaism; the attitude of the orthodox Synagogue is still conservative and anti-critical, on the whole.

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[1] Schechter, *op. cit.* pp. xxi f.

[2] N. S. Joseph, *Essentials of Judaism* (published by the "Jewish Religious Union," London, 1906).

CHAPTER VIII.

The Jewish Conception of God.

The Unity of God—The Nature and Attributes of God—The Relation of God to Israel and to the World.

[Literature :—Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–65, 148–165; Schechter, *Some aspects of Rabbinic Theology* in *JQR* vi, pp. 405–427, 633–647; Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, pp. 24–59; Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, pp. 38–46; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 75–82; Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff., 291–313, 354 ff; Morris Joseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–83. Oesterley, *Religion a Permanent Need of Human Nature*, pp. 27ff; Holtzmann, *op cit.*, pp. 353–366; *JE*, Art. "God"; Abrahams, *Festival Studies*, pp. 96–102.]

I. The Unity of God.

The second article of the Jewish Creed runs : "I firmly believe that the Creator, blessed be His name, is One ; that there is no Oneness like His, in any way, and that He alone was, is, and will be our God." This belief is based upon the words of Deut. 6^4 : *Hear, O Israel ; the Lord our God, the Lord is One.* This belief was originally asserted against the Polytheism and idolatry of all the nations by whom the Israelites were surrounded ; *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out from the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage ; thou shalt have no other gods before me* (Exod. $20^{2, 3}$) ; the prohibition suggests that polytheism prevailed among the Israelites themselves until a comparatively late period. Be that as it may, it seems certain that the nation as a whole had from the Exile onwards adopted the belief in One God, and One only. According to *Berachoth* i, 1, it was from the time of the Exile that the daily—morning and evening —recitation of the *Shema'* became the solemn duty of every Jew. To the present day the unity of God is a belief to which every true Jew bears witness on his

death-bed, with his last breath he makes this confession of his faith. It is said that Rabbi Akiba, who suffered the martyr's death, breathed out at the last the word, " One," in reference to this belief. The intense importance laid upon the frequent articulate expression of this truth led to the utterance of some bold statements regarding the recitation of the *Shema'*, which has always been looked upon as the embodiment of the doctrine of God's Unity. Thus in *Berachoth* 15[b] it is said : " They cool the flames of Gehinnom (Hell) for him who reads the *Shema' ;*" again, in *Berachoth* i, 2 (ed. Fiebig) it is affirmed that to him who goes on reading the *Shema'* after the prescribed time no harm will come.

As in the Old Testament, so in post-biblical literature, the *single personality* of God is frequently insisted upon. Moreover, it is interesting to note that in some of the books of this literature anthropomorphisms are toned down, in others they are altogether avoided ; thus, for example, in Ecclus. 33[3] [English Version 34[3]] : " Thy hand," in reference to God, is expressed in the second half of the verse by " Thy power," this being a more abstract conception ; or again in Wisdom 11[21] God's " arm " is spoken of as His " might," in Bar. 3[4] 2[24], God's " voice " is referred to as His " will." In the Targums anthropomorphic expressions are put aside altogether. On the other hand, the impossibility of speaking about God without using expressions which are properly only applicable to man, is naturally often noticeable when God's action is spoken of ; so, for example, in the book of Baruch, God's eyes, and His ear, are spoken of (2[16], [17]) ; in Wisdom 11[7] we read : " Thy almighty hand, that made the world of matter without form " ; in 2 (4) Esdras 2[2] ff., God is spoken of as sorrowing like a widow. Such anthropomorphisms and the like are inevitable, they are also interesting as showing the intensity of the belief in the *Personality* of God. They increase very greatly in Rabbinical literature, in which insistence on

God's Unity, in the strictly Jewish sense, was regarded as far more important than the inculcation of His *spiritual nature*. For this reason it was laid down (*Berachoth* i, 1) that the *Shema'* should be recited every day twice; and in the *Talmud* it was ordered that the concluding word, *'Echad* ("One"), should be specially emphasized while it was being enunciated by holding out each syllable (*Berachoth* 19[a]). This word *'Echad* is understood not only in the sense of "One," but also as implying "uniqueness" when used in reference to God (*Megillah* 28).[1]

The Hebrew word for God (*'Elohim*) which is plural in form, necessarily exercised the minds of Israel's post-biblical teachers, and pains were taken to refute the inference which Israel's enemies would naturally draw. It is pointed out that the context of the passages in which this word occurs contains verbs in the singular—though this is really no argument from a grammatical point of view;—in *Jer. Berachoth* ix it is said that the phrase in Gen. 1[26], *Let us make man in our image*, is proved by the subsequent statement in verse 27, *So God created man in his own image*, to refer to one God only. Other curious arguments are used for "proving" God's unity; for example, it is said, that the reason why in the beginning one man only was fashioned was to disprove the contention of those who believe in more than one personality in God (*Sanhedrin* 38[a]); God had neither associate nor helper, according to the same authority, 38[b]. "The ever recurrent principle throughout *haggadic* theological speculations is that there is only one *Reshuth*, 'personality,' or 'power.'"[2]

As far as the Jewish belief in the Unity of God—as distinct from the Trinity in Unity—is concerned, Christian and Jewish teaching are identical; in Mark 12[29] in answer to the question, *Which is the first commandment*

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[1] *JE*, vi, 5.
[2] *JE*, vi, 6.

of all? Christ replies: *The first is, Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is One.*

But in Jewish Rabbinical literature this fundamental article was sometimes believed to be impugned by Christian teaching concerning God; we find, therefore, that the truth of this article is frequently insisted upon in opposition to what was erroneously believed to be a denial of God's Unity on the part of Christians; thus, for instance, in *Koheleth Rabbah* to iv, 8 it is said: "He is One, there are not two (i.e., Father and Son); He is One, that is, the Holy One, Blessed be He; for it is said of Him, 'Jehovah our God is One Jehovah,' and not two, for He has none that is related to Him in His world, He has no son, no brother"; or again, in *Bemidbar rabbah* c. 15 there is a warning against those who teach that there are two divine Persons in the world; or, once more, in order to get over the difficulty of Psalm 2^{12}, *Kiss the Son lest He be angry*, it is said (*Ibid* c. 10) that "son" means *Torah;* cf., too, the passage *Sanhedrin* 38^b, quoted above.

But real, formal proofs—other than such incidental attempts referred to above—of the Unity of God are not met with in the Rabbinical literature proper; it was unnecessary, for a fact which was regarded as so fundamental, as so axiomatic, was not believed to require—was not conceived of as even permitting of formal proof; besides which, every Jew in those days believed firmly that the doctrine of God's Unity had been once and for all declared to his forefathers by a direct act of divine revelation—a thing which is not believed by all modern Jews to have been the case. Therefore, the fact is always taken for granted, and is put forth as the foundation-stone on which the Jewish faith is reared.

But in later days, owing in great measure to the influence of the speculations of Arabian philosophers, pantheistic ideas concerning the Godhead arose. Among some of the leading Jewish teachers doctrines were held which seemed

to impair the reality of the divine *personality*. For example, although it is clearly impossible to conceive of personality without imputing attributes, yet Saadya taught that no attribute could in strict construction be ascribed to God. "God has created the concept 'attribute'; but created things cannot belong to the essence of the Creator. Man may only predicate God's existence (*Yeshuth*)." In the same way Solomon Ibn Gabirol was the exponent of a system "bordering on theosophy, certainly approaching obscurity and the mystic elimination of individuality in favour of an all-encompassing all-Divinity (Pantheism)." [1]

This is the logical outcome of the Jewish definition of God by negations. But teaching of this kind, although undertaken in conscious opposition to the Christian doctrine of the Triune Godhead, constituted a new danger in the opposite direction, and therefore necessitated a restatement of Jewish belief on the subject; so that attempts at a formal proof of the Unity of God were now put forth. The first of the later writers who endeavoured to formulate a proof of this kind is Bachya, in his work *Choboth ha-Lebaboth;* he is followed by Jehudah Halevi, who in his "Kuzari" follows something of the same line of argument. The arguments set forth are certainly ingenious at times; the following may serve as an example: "The Unity of God is involved in the very conception of Him. If there were more gods than one, this dilemma would be presented:—

(*a*) These many gods are of one essence; then, according to the law of absolute identity, they are identical, and therefore only one;—or,

(*b*) These gods are differentiated by differences of essential qualities; then they are not gods; for God, to be God, must be absolute and simple (non-composite) being." [2] The argument does not run quite logically, but

[1] *JE* vi, 9, 10. [2] *JE* vi, 11.

it is clever, and was evidently acceptable in Halevi's day among his own people. Somewhat jejune, on the other hand, is the following: "The harmony and concordance prevailing in creation necessitate the apprehension of the world as the work of one artist and creator. Without a creator there could be no creation. Thus reason and logic compel the assumption of a creator; but to assume more than one creator is irrational and illogical." [1] More striking is the reasoning of Maimonides on the subject, as developed in his *Moreh Nebukim* ("Guide to the Perplexed"), though it is easy to see that not all his statements can have been acceptable in Jewish orthodox circles. According to him, "philosophy recognizes the existence and perfection of God. God's existence is proved by the world, the effect, whence he draws the inference of God's existence, the cause. The whole Universe is only one individual, the parts of which are interdependent. The sublunar world is dependent upon the forces proceeding from the spheres, so that the Universe is a macrocosm (*Moreh*, ii, 1), and thus the effect of one cause. Two gods or causes cannot be assumed, for they would have to be distinct in their community; but God is absolute; therefore He cannot be composite. The corporeal alone is numerical. God as incorporeal cannot be a multiple. But may God be said to be one? Unity is accidence, as is multiplicity. 'God is One,' connotes a negative, i.e., God is not many. Of God it is possible only to say that He is, but not what He is. All attributes have a negative implication, even existence. . . All that is, save God, is only of possible existence; but God is the necessarily existent (*Moreh*, i, 57). In Him there is no distinction between essence and existence, which distinction is in all other existing beings. For this reason God is incorporeal, One, exalted above space and time, and most perfect (*Moreh*, ii, Preface, 18, 21, 23, 24)." [2]

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[1] *JE* vi, 11. [2] *Ibid.*

Subtle and ingenious as arguments of this kind were, it may be safely asserted that they were not likely to convince unbelievers ; nor is it probable that they influenced the people at large ; what was required, and what must always be vastly more acceptable to the masses is a definite statement of belief, clear and concise. The doctrine of the Unity of God, according to its Jewish presentation, could hardly be more adequately and beautifully expressed than in the opening act of praise for the daily Morning Service of the Synagogue :

> " Magnified and praised be the living God. He is, and there is no limit in time unto His being. He is One, and there is no Unity like unto His Unity ; inconceivable is He, and unending in His Unity. He hath neither bodily form nor substance : we can compare nought unto Him in His holiness. He was before anything that hath been created, even the first ; but His existence had no beginning."

II. The Nature and Attributes of God.

In this and the following section we have to deal with a subject upon which acute differences have existed, and do exist, between Jewish and Christian theologians ; we cannot help feeling, on the one hand, that the latter have not always treated the subject in the way that a greater knowledge of the facts would have demanded ; on the other hand, Jewish theologians do not, as a rule, acknowledge sufficiently what may be called the " extenuating circumstances " which have led Christian writers to lay undue stress on one side of the question. There is a very great deal in post-biblical, and especially in Rabbinical literature, to justify what Christian theologians have written regarding the Jewish belief in God ; there is also a very great deal in those writings to show that the Christian representation of the case is only partial. Prof. Schechter writes : " According to what we are told by so many theologians, God must be too far, the

[1] Singer, p. 2.

King of the Universe, too cosmopolitan, and the Father in heaven too high for the mind of the Jew, and thus an impossible object for worship." [1] It is impossible not to feel sympathy with this complaint; but, on the other hand, it will be seen later on that it is not without some grounds that Christian theologians have written as they have; where legitimate fault may be found with them is in the fact that too much stress is laid on one aspect of the question, while the other is more or less ignored; that is to say, too much stress has been laid upon the transcendentalism of God, as presented in Jewish writings, while His Fatherhood and loving mercy, His interest in His people and His guiding of them—as likewise presented in Jewish writings—has for the most part been ignored. As a matter of fact, these Jewish writings cover long periods of time, reflect varying conceptions and beliefs, sometimes of individuals, sometimes more generally, and preserve the echoes of controversies in which the desire to refute an adversary often involves the utterance of statements which in their exaggeration run into another extreme.

We are therefore convinced that the only fair way to treat this subject is to present, as far as possible, *all* the elements for consideration.

Judaism rightly teaches, in contra-distinction to Pantheism, that while God is the Creator and Sustainer of the world and the fulness thereof, while He is in the world as being omnipresent, yet that God and the world are wholly distinct. According to one aspect of Jewish teaching on this subject, the belief in the absolute distinctness of God from the world was pushed to such extremes that His direct action and interference with the world of His own creation became to a great extent obscured, and His activity, so far as humanity was concerned, was said to be accomplished by means of

[1] *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, *JQR.* vi, 418.

intermediate agencies.[1] This teaching owed its origin to the Jewish conception of God's transcendent *Righteousness* and *Holiness*. This is insisted on with great urgency and frequency; it is of course based on Old Testament teaching, but it occurs also again and again in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic literature, e.g., in the prayer of the High-Priest Simon II (3 Macc. 2^{1} ff.) God is addressed as the "All-holy"; in Bar. 1^{15}, 2^{6} we read of "righteousness belonging unto God"; in Wisdom 5^{8} righteousness is spoken of as "God's Breastplate"; in 12^{15} we read: "Forasmuch as thou art righteous thyself, thou orderest all things righteously"; in the *Book of Jubilees* 21^{4}, it says: "A living God is He, and holy is He, and true and righteous more than any other"; and in the Psalms of Solomon 10^{5}, "Righteous and holy is the Lord"; in the Book of Enoch the thought occurs very often, e.g., 1^{3}; 10^{5}; 15^{3}; 25^{3}, etc. And the same goes on all through Jewish literature, until we come down to the modern Jewish Liturgy, where the frequency of the phrase, "The Holy One, Blessed be He," eloquently expresses the same idea.

One, therefore, so pure and holy and majestic, could not fittingly be thought of as having direct intercourse with man. This is further illustrated by the sanctity of God's name, which was not permitted to be pronounced by the lips of men; for by a natural transition the holiness of God was also conceived of as attaching to His name, so that the articulation of the name of God came to be absolutely forbidden. This process can be seen at work in the Old Testament, where in some of the later books the name of God, i.e., Jahweh, is mostly avoided; thus in *Esther*[2] and *Ecclesiastes* it is never mentioned, in *Job*

[1] See chap. ix.

[2] In this book God Himself is never mentioned; the same is true of 1 Macc., where the expression "Heaven" is often used instead, e.g., $4^{10,24,40}$, etc., the English Version inserts "Lord" in several cases, but without textual justification. Cf. in Matt. the frequent expression "Kingdom of *Heaven*" for "Kingdom of *God*."

only in two passages. Moreover, as is well known, in order to avoid pronouncing the name of "Jahweh," the Massoretes have everywhere altered the vowel-points, inserting instead those of "Lord" (*Adonai*), or of "God" (*Elohim*) if "Jahweh the Lord" was written in the text. In early post-biblical times this name was never mentioned excepting when the Blessing, in the name of the Lord, was given in the Temple.[1] Various expedients were resorted to in order to avoid expressing the words "Jahweh," and even "God"; thus, as a substitute, "The Highest" occurs with great frequency, so too "The Immortal," "Heaven," "The Blessed One," "The Holy One," and others of a like nature. Then, again, the expression "King of the World," for God, is often met with. In Talmudic literature this is frequently the way in which God is spoken of in parables; in these the thought of God's Majesty and Holiness, which the title is intended to express, is emphasized by the fact that man is always represented as merely a material, not also a spiritual, being; for as Weber has pointed out,[2] in the parables in question man is usually spoken of as flesh and blood, i.e., as that which is transient and destructible, in contrast to the eternal King;[3] cf. Matt. 16^{17}; Jn. 1^{13}; 1 Cor. 15^{50}; Gal. 1^{15}.

These considerations all point to the conception that God is far removed from men and the world of His creation, and that His Holiness and Majesty forbid conceiving of Him as coming into direct contact with humanity. This is, however, only half the truth; there is another side to the Jewish conception of God which must be balanced against what has been said above. And here we cannot do better than quote the words of one who is probably better qualified to write on the subject than any one else:[4] "To the Rabbis God is not only the Creator of the

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[1] *Sotah*, vii, 6. *Joma*, vi, 2. *Sanhedrin*, x, i.

[2] Weber, *op. cit.* p. 149.

[3] *Pesikta*, 30^{b}.

[4] Schechter, *op. cit.* pp. 420 ff., where all references to the original authorities are given.

world, or 'he who spake and the world existed,' but also the Father of the World, the goodness (or the good one) of the world, the life of the world, the eye of the world, the secret of the world, the only one of the world, the old one of the world, the righteous one of the world, the master or lord of the world, and the space (*makom*) of the world, whilst in another place it is said of the divine presence that his chief dwelling is among those below. It is only sin which causes his removal to the upper regions. He is also compared by a Rabbi to the soul 'filling the whole world, as the soul fills the body.' . . . . 'Thou art the Lord our God,' runs an ancient prayer, which is still recited every day, 'in heaven and *on earth* and in the highest heavens of heavens.' . . . Nor does 'height,' even if we do not take it metaphorically, imply remoteness of God, or any interruption in his communion with man. Notwithstanding all distance, 'God is near in every kind of nearness.' For though the distance between heaven and earth is so infinitely great, yet 'when a man comes to the synagogue and prays, God listens to him, for the petitioner is like a man who talks into the ear of his friend.' Directly a man has a thought of repentance, it instantly reaches the throne of God. The fact is, that the nearness of God is determined by the conduct of man, and by his realization of this nearness, that is, by his knowledge of God." Again: "To the Jew, God was at one and the same time above, beyond, and within the world, its soul and its life." [1]

There is yet another element which must be briefly referred to; in their desire to emphasize the nearness of God to man, and His interest in all that concerned man, and in their eagerness to balance those transcendental conceptions of God already referred to, the Rabbis were sometimes led into an extreme of the opposite kind, and said things about God which to our ears border on

[1] Schechter, *op. cit.* p. 633, where all references to the original authorities are given.

irreverence. It is mainly in connexion with the *Torah* that these things are said, and though, strictly speaking, the references now to be given belong to the Chapter on the *Torah*, yet as they touch directly on the Personality of God, they will not be inappropriate here. Reverence for the *Torah*, as we have already seen, almost rivalled that for God Himself, so that it was a natural consequence that the Divine thoughts, desires and actions should have been conceived of as being to a great extent bound up with the *Torah*. Thus God's whole life and activity are represented as being regulated by it ; it is said that He is subject to the authoritative decisions of the Rabbis concerning the precepts of the *Torah* (*Sanhedrin* 39[a]) ; according to *Berachoth* 6[a], 7[a], God wears phylacteries and the Praying-shawl [1] when He prays ; once, it is said, the angels asked God when *Rosh ha-shanah* (i.e., " New Year's Day ") and *Yom Kippur* (i.e., " The Day of Atonement ") were to be observed in heaven ; He referred them to the use which obtains on earth, where they were, of course, kept in accordance with the ordinances of the *Torah* (*Pesikta* 53[b], 54[a]). Much more to the same effect could be quoted, but it is unnecessary. It was in such ways as these that the Rabbis sought to make God's nearness more real ; they were practical, rather than speculative ideas of God, and if the language savours of exaggeration to Westerns, it is only fair to remember that to Oriental ears exaggeration is the normal way of expressing things.

III. The Relation of God to Israel and to the World.

It is impossible to separate altogether the Jewish conception of God from Jewish ideas concerning the *Torah ;* one may almost go so far as to say that the two ideas are inter-dependent. The *Torah*, as we have already seen, is the embodiment of the Divine mind as revealed

[1] See on these ch. xxi.

to men ; and only in so far as men observe the *Torah* will God have anything to do with them. As the *Torah* is the final expression of the Divine will and purpose, Jewish ideas of God must obviously to a great extent be guided and conditioned by it. If the *Torah* mirrors God's "way of thinking," then in it men will search for a knowledge of God, His Person, attributes, and the like. And this is the case with the Rabbinical teaching. As has been already pointed out in an earlier chapter, the *Torah*, although believed to have been offered to all the world, was yet only accepted by Israel—by Israel *alone;* the Israelites alone placed themselves under its guidance as expressive of the will of God. Therefore, Israel became specifically the people of God, His "Peculiar People" (*'am segullah*), the "Chosen race." [1] While this is the most characteristic view held by the Jews regarding God's relationship to them, yet its narrowness in face of their exalted conceptions regarding His Personality impelled them often to recognize that the Divine interest in Creation was of a wider character ; hence we find many passages which speak of God as One whose concern is with *all* men. Each of these ideas may be illustrated by a few references. For the more usual view that, generally speaking, God is conceived of as the God of Israel alone or at least primarily so, the following passages will be found instructive : Ecclus. 17^{17}, "He set a prince over every nation, but the portion which God appointed for Himself was Israel" ; 47^{18}, "By the name of the Lord God, that is called the God of Israel," [2] ; 50^{22}, "Praise ye now, therefore, Jehovah the God of Israel," [3] see also 33^{1-13}, 36^{16-22} ; Wisdom 19^{22}, "For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them,

[1] Cf. Rashi on Gen. 1^{1}.

[2] Or, according to a more correct reading, "By the name of the Lord God that is called over Israel," see Kautsch *in loc.*

[3] This seems to be the most correct reading, see Kautsch *in loc.*

neither didst thou lightly regard them, but didst assist them in every time and place" ; in 2 Macc. 8^{36} it says that "God fights for the Jews, and the Jews are therefore invulnerable, because they obey the commands that He has laid upon them." Turning to the later literature, we find the same thought frequently emphasized ; thus in *Shemoth rabbah* c. 49 the relationship between God and Israel is represented as that between husband and wife ; [1] an inseparable bond in this sense was initiated at the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. In the same passage it goes on to say that "if all peoples united in seeking to snap the bond of love that exists between Jehovah and Israel, they would not be able to succeed." *Wayyikra rabbah* c. 6 tells of the covenant made on Mount Sinai, between God and His people, which neither will violate (cf. Gal. 3^{20}, 4^{24}). In *Mekilta* 46^a, 47^a it says : "Whosoever lifts himself up against Israel, shall be regarded as having lifted himself up against God" ; in the same tractate, 35^a, Israel is spoken of as the "congregation of holy ones," in contradistinction to the nations of the world ; and this holiness can never be obliterated, even if Israel sins, for according to *Wayyikra rabbah* c. 24, God has given holiness to Israel for an everlasting possession. Again, it is said in *Pesikta* 76^b, that on three occasions God was going to bring Israel to account, but each time He desisted because the Gentiles were going to gloat over it, and He did not wish to shame His people in the sight of the heathen. A rather striking way of expressing the special relationship that exists between God and Israel is contained in *Pesikta rabbati* 146^a, where it is said that God only forgets the bad deeds of the Israelites, not the good ones.[2]

But, on the other hand, more worthy conceptions regarding the Divine interest in the *whole* of His creation

[1] Cf. Christ and His bride, the Church (Eph. 5^{23}, $^{31-33}$) ; here the Church corresponds to "the Congregation of Israel" (*Keneseth Israel*).

[2] See further Schechter *op. cit.* pp. 634–638.

are not infrequently expressed; the book of Wisdom often lays stress on this, see especially 11^{22-26}; 13^{1-7}; a very striking passage is Ecclus. 10^{19}, "Of what kind is an honourable seed? A seed of man. Of what kind is an honourable seed? They that fear the Lord. Of what kind is a seed without honour? A seed of man. Of what kind is a seed without honour? They that transgress the commandments." [1] The general application of this catechetical verse shows clearly that no differentiation is contemplated between Jew and Gentile. The long passage in the same book, 17^{1-14}, is in the same sense, viz., that all men, being created in God's image, alike share His interest and love; the last verse in this passage admirably sums up the underlying thought throughout: "The mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh." Nor is this wider outlook altogether wanting in the later Rabbinical literature; for example, *Sifre, Deut.* 40: "God does not provide for Israel alone, but for all men." To quote Schechter again: "... A God 'who had faith in the world when He created it,' [2] who mourned over its moral decay, which compelled him to punish it with the deluge, as a father mourns over the death of his son, and who, but for their sins, longed to make his abode among its inhabitants, is not to be supposed to have entirely given up all relations with the great majority of mankind, or to have ceased to take any concern in their well-being. 'Though his goodness, loving-kindness and mercy are with Israel, his right hand is always stretched forward to receive *all* those who come into the world, ... as it is said, *Unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear*' (Isa. 45^{23}). For this confession from the Gentiles 'the Holy One is waiting.'" [3] Again, the words of Exod. 34^{23}, *The Lord God, the God of Israel*, are explained by

[1] The English Version is unreliable in this passage, see Swete's text (Cambridge, 1896).

[2] *Sifre*, 132^{b}. [3] Schechter *op. cit.* p. 638.

the Rabbis " to indicate the double relation of God to the world in general, and to Israel in particular. He is the Lord of all nations, while His name is especially attached to Israel.[1] Of more importance is the interpretation given to Deut. 6^4, *Hear, O Israel*, etc. (the *Shema'*), which runs as follows :—' He is *our* God by making his name particularly attached to us ; but he is also the one God of *all* mankind. He is *our* God in this world, he will be the only God in the world to come, as it is said, *And the Lord shall be King over all the earth ; in that day there shall be one Lord and his name one'* (Zech. 14^9).[2] For, ' in this world, the creatures, through the insinuations of the evil inclination, have divided themselves into various tongues, but in the world to come they will agree with one consent to call only on his name, as it is said, *For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord to serve Him with one consent'* (Zeph. 3^9). Thus the *Shema'* not only contains a metaphysical statement (about the unity of God), but expresses a hope and belief—for everything connected with this verse has a certain dogmatic value—in the ultimate universal Kingdom of God." [3]

This two-fold conception of God's attitude to man dates back to Old Testament times. It must be remembered that during the prophetical period and onwards the Israelites had much justification for the belief that they were the favourites of Heaven. The purity of their faith, as expressed by prophet and psalmist, their moral code, and their religious literature, marked them out as being, from a religious point of view, superior to the nations of the world. Their conception of God, as pictured in the later biblical books, was immeasurably higher than the beliefs of the nations concerning their gods. The knowledge of all this, therefore, must have forced the

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[1] See *Mekilta*, 102^a, *Sifre*, 73^a.
[2] See *Mekilta* and *Sifre*, *ibid.*
[3] Schechter, *ibid.* pp. 639, 640.

conviction upon them that as they alone served the One and only God, the God of the whole earth, that therefore He regarded them as different from other races, as a people who alone of all nations had dedicated themselves to Him, and thus that His interest and care for them must be proportionately greater than for other men.

On the other hand, with ever-widening views of the world, and with ever-growing conceptions of God, some, at all events, of Israel's thinkers realized that if there was indeed only One God, only One Creator of all the world, only One who was merciful, how could His activity and love be turned from the great mass of His creation, and be restricted to one race? It was certainly to combat particularistic ideas, and with them conceptions which were derogatory to God's Greatness and Majesty that, for example, the book of *Jonah* was written, with its sublime doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God.

Thus, there must have arisen, even before the close of the Canon, two parties, the "Exclusivists" and the "Universalists"; and their respective conceptions of God were coloured and influenced by these two antagonistic ideas. And therefore it came about that two entirely different doctrines arose regarding the relationship between God and the world—doctrines which are found side by side in biblical, apocryphal, pseudepigraphic and rabbinical literature.

CHAPTER IX.

Intermediate Agencies between God and Man.

Quasi-personification of Attributes proper to God—*Metatron*—*Memra*—The Holy Spirit—*Bath kol*—The *Shekhinah*—The Name—Bearing of these on Christian Doctrine.

[Literature :—Weber, ch. xiii; Bousset, pp. 336–350; *Ausgewählte Mischnatractate* (ed. Paul Fiebig), passim; Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, passim; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* ("Pirke Aboth") 2. ed., passim; M. Friedländer pp. 22–38. 2 ed; The various articles in the *JE* which deal with the subject; The Art. *Shekhinah* in Hastings *DCG*; Holtzmann, pp. 317–322; Schürer *HJP*, II, iii, pp. 321–381.]

One of the most striking elements in the official religion of the Synagogue, as contained in Targum, Talmud and Midrash, is the quasi-personification of certain attributes proper to God. They occupy an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings. While on the one hand they are represented as being so closely connected with God as to appear as parts of Him, or attributes, they are, on the other hand, so often spoken of as undertaking individual action that they must be differentiated from God. The consideration of this Jewish doctrine of intermediate beings is of great importance to the Christian theologian, for it offers a striking commentary on the Christian doctrine of mediation; this will become especially apparent on reading § i, below. In how far the two religions have influenced each other in this respect, it would be difficult to say; but it is worth remembering that the Talmud and kindred writings only crystallize what had in very many cases been current long before.

One may well ask how it came about that this teaching on intermediate beings arose; and perhaps this is best explained by a reference to the well-known prohibition,

amongst Jews, of pronouncing the divine name. Just as there was a disinclination, on account of its transcendent holiness, to utter the name of God, and instead to substitute paraphrases for it, so there arose a disinclination to ascribe action directly to God, because of His inexpressible majesty and holiness; and, therefore, the different departments of divine activity were accomplished by means of these intermediate beings.

Historically, angels and spirits precede the personifications which we are about to consider,[1] and indeed the *germ* of the conception of all these intermediate beings is to be sought in the Old Testament; it follows, therefore, that for a proper understanding of the whole subject, Old Testament teaching must to some extent be taken into consideration.

The intermediate beings to be dealt with are four in number:—

I. *Metatron.* II. *Memra.* III. The *Holy Spirit.* IV. The *Shekhinah.*

A fifth, the *Name,* which occupies, however, a much less prominent position, will also be considered; and in § iii a brief reference will be made to the curious conception expressed by the term *Bath Kol.*

I. Metatron.

The etymology of this word is the subject of controversy; but it is necessary to form some opinion as to its derivation, for, clearly, the name must originally have given some indication regarding the functions of this personality.

The date of the first mention of the word is not without importance in seeking to fix its derivation. According to the *JE* (viii, 519), it is Elisha ben Abuyah [2] who first

[1] Cf., for example, the following passages: Exod. 23^{20-23}, 32^{34}, 33^{2}; Num. 22, 1 Sam. 16^{14} ff.; 1 Kings. 22^{21} ff.; Job 1, 2.

[2] In the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Chagigah* 15^{a}.

refers to *Metatron* under this name; this Rabbi lived during the first half of the second century A.D.; therefore the belief regarding *Metatron* must have been much earlier than this date, for, as we have had to remark before, the beliefs which are crystallized in the Talmud have a history before their appearance there. This early date of the mention of the word makes it improbable that it was derived from the Latin, for Roman influence upon Jewish literature is not likely to have been sufficiently powerful to have induced Jewish teachers to derive such a word as *Metatron* from the Latin. A Latin derivation is the less likely in that the first mention of *Metatron* occurs in the Babylonian Talmud. We cannot, therefore, agree with the writer on this subject in the *JE*, when he says that "the derivation from the Latin 'metator' (='guide') is doubtless correct." It would be difficult to point to any instance of the Latin word being used in this sense. "Divider" or "Measurer"; is what the word means, but not "Guide." There is, it is true, at least one passage which could be quoted in favour of this derivation when first read, but not on considering it further. The passage is from *Bereshith rabbah*, c. 5; it is here said that the voice of the Holy One became to Moses a *Metator*, in order to show him the boundaries of the Promised Land. There is, however, here nothing about dividing or measuring, it is only a question of indicating whereabouts the Promised Land lay; so that the fact that in this passage *Metator* is used instead of *Metatron* points to a confusion of ideas, and cannot be said to throw any real light upon the derivation of *Metatron*. Further, Mr. Herford has shown [1] how untenable is the theory [2] which regards the idea of *Metatron* as of Gnostic origin, or which identifies him with the "Logos" of the Jewish Alexandrine philosophy. Another improbable theory is that which seeks

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 285–290, 373–376. [2] See *JE*, viii, 519.

to identify *Metatron* with the Zoroastrian Mithra ; but how very unlikely this is will be clear to anyone reading, for example, Cumont's *Les Mystères de Mithra*.[1] Once more, it is pointed out that the numerical value of the letters [2] of the word *Metatron* are equal to 314 ; but this is also the numerical value of the letters of the word *Shaddai*, " Almighty " ; therefore, it is said, the two words are synonymous, *Metatron* means " Almighty ! " This theory is, of course, hardly to be taken seriously, though in favour of it are quoted two passages, one from the Babylonian and one from the Jerusalem Talmud,[3] in which *Metatron* bears the title of " Prince of the World " ; a title which more probably implies that he is the representative of God in the world.

All these theories must be rejected, and one can scarcely doubt that the explanation which Weber gives is the correct one. He holds that *Metatron* is a hebraized form of the Greek *Metathronos* or perhaps *Metatyrannos*, i.e., one who occupies the next rank to the ruler.[4] This explanation accords with the functions of *Metatron*, which we now proceed briefly to examine :—

i. *The representative of God.* This function shows *Metatron* as one who stands in the closest relationship to God, for he occupies this position by virtue of the fact that he is second to God only ; indeed, he is sometimes spoken of in such a way as to make it difficult to see any difference between him and the Almighty ; for example, in *Sanhedrin* 38^{b}, in reference to the words of Exod. 24^{1}, *And he* (God) *said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord*, it is

[1] See especially ch. i, *Les Origines*, pp. 1–25.
[2] The letters of the Hebrew alphabet are also numerals.
[3] *Chullin* 60^{a}, *Jebamoth* 16^{b}.
[4] Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 178 ; we cannot, however, follow Weber when he speaks of the analogy of the " Crown Prince," or as we should say, the Prince of Wales ; for this would imply an inherent ultimate right to the highest position itself ; an idea of this kind, as Weber himself points out, is never put forward on behalf of *Metatron*.

asked: "Why does not God say: 'Come up unto *Me'?*" The answer is: "It was *Metatron*, whose *name* is equal to that of God, to whom he was bidden to come up." Logically, there is no difference here between God and Metatron. One must remember the significance there was in names among the Jews to realize the importance of this passage; the name was equivalent to its bearer (see further on this below). In the passage just quoted, *Metatron* is said to bear the "Tetragrammaton," i.e. the four consonants which represent the unpronounceable name of God; another instance of the practical identity between God and *Metatron*. Elsewhere [1] *Metatron* is described as the teacher of children, but in other passages this is said to be the duty of God alone. But his function of representing God is perhaps seen most distinctly in the title that is given him of the "Prince of the World" (*Sar ha'olâm*), which shows that he was thought of as the *ruler* of the world.[2]

ii. *The Consoler of God.* This function ascribed to *Metatron*, which to us appears as bordering on irreverence, well illustrates the extremely illogical way in which at one time God is represented as wholly impassible, at another as partaking of human feelings. It is said that when God was lamenting the death of Moses, *Metatron* comforted Him with the words: "He was Thine in life, in death he is also Thine."

Some extraordinary ideas seem to have been current in the early centuries of the Christian era concerning *Metatron* and Moses; in the Apocalyptic writing called *The Ascension of Moses*,[3] for example, we read that *Metatron* transformed the body of Moses into a fiery figure like that of the angels and led him up through the seven heavens. See further below (p. 177).

[1] *Abodah zarah* 3[b].
[2] *Chullin* 60[a] *Jebamoth* 16[b].
[3] Arabic version, ed. Gaster, see *JE*, i, 679.

Again, when the Temple was destroyed, God is represented as weeping ; but *Metatron* sought to comfort Him, saying : " I will weep, but weep not Thou." But God answered : " If thou wilt not suffer me to weep, I will go whither thou canst not come, and there will I lament." The title " Prince of the Presence," which is applied to *Metatron*, and which implies that he is the constant companion of God, accounts perhaps for the amazing intimacy between *Metatron* and the Almighty which the foregoing points to as having existed.

iii. *The Mediator between God and Israel.* The most characteristic function of *Metatron* is that in which he appears as mediator. This is very important, for it shows that the idea of Mediation, in quite a Christian sense, was current among the Jews in pre-Christian times.

> It is true, that, as far as Rabbinical literature is concerned, this statement could not be made positively, though doctrines of this kind which appear in Talmud and Midrash (let alone the Targums) certainly do not occur there for the first time. What leads to the conviction that the doctrine of Mediation existed in post-biblical Jewish theology in connexion with *Metatron* is his identification with Enoch (see below), and the teaching on this subject in the *Book of Enoch,* the latest portions of which are pre-Christian. It must be remembered, too, that the Old Testament offers much on which to found a doctrine of Mediation.

As one who, as we have seen, was so much in the presence of God, and who therefore stands in the closest intimacy with Him, *Metatron* occupies an appropriate position as Israel's intercessor. It will, therefore, not surprise us to find that in one passage Moses is represented as asking *Metatron* to intercede with God on his behalf, in order that his life might be prolonged. His office of Advocate of Israel is clearly brought out in *Chagigah* 15[a], where he is represented as writing down, in the presence

of God, the merits of the Children of Israel; he is thus spoken of as the "Great Scribe," the advocate who pleads on behalf of his clients before the Judge. In *Bemidbar rabbah*, c. 12, the term "Mediator" is directly applied to *Metatron*, and, what is still more significant, he is represented as the reconciler between God and the Chosen People.

iv. METATRON *identified with Enoch.* In the Jerusalem Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) to Gen. 5^{24} *Metatron* is said to be the name of Enoch; it says there: "Enoch ascended into Heaven through the Word of God, and He (God) called him *Metatron*, the great scribe.[1] It is owing to this passage, as Bousset points out,[2] that the figure of *Metatron*, which plays such a prominent part in the later speculations, first assumes importance in Jewish theology; "for," he goes on to say, "it may be taken for granted that the figure of *Metatron* and that of the Son of Man, stand in some relation to one another."[3] Another reason for identifying *Metatron* with Enoch is that both are referred to as the "heavenly scribe"; we have just seen how the title is applied to *Metatron*, and in reference to Enoch it is found in the *Book of Jubilees* 4^{23}: "And he (Enoch) was taken away from among the children of men, and we led him into the garden of Eden to renown and honour, and behold, he writes down there the judgment and the verdict upon the world and upon all the evil deeds of the children of men."[4] In the Hebrew writings, according to Ludwig Blau, "*Metatron* fills the rôle of Enoch in the Apocrypha in bearing witness to the sins of mankind. Since both sources represent him as a youth, it may be assumed that the first versions of the Hebrew mystical works, though they received

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[1] Weber *op. cit.*, p. 178. [2] *op. cit.*, p. 348.
[3] See the whole passage in Bousset.
[4] Cf. *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A.T.* (ed. Kautsch), p. 47.

their present form in the Geonic period, [1] originated in antiquity, so that the conception of *Metatron* must likewise date from an early period." [2]

It is characteristic that while *Metatron*, or Enoch, appears as the accuser of mankind in general, he occupies the rôle of intercessor and reconciler as far as the children of Israel are concerned.

v. METATRON *identified with Michael the Archangel.* This identification is found in the Jerusalem Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) to Exod. 24^{1}; but there are other distinct indications of their identity. He is called Michael in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9^{21}; [3] both appear as advocate and mediator of Israel; we have seen that this is the case with *Metatron*, and that he is also known as the "great scribe," who writes down in the presence of God the merits of the children of Israel. Michael fulfils precisely the same functions; he is called the "Advocate of the Jews," he is also represented as the High-priest [4] who constantly makes intercession for Israel; as to his filling the office of the "great scribe," see *Enoch* $89^{70, 71, 76, 77}$. Another mark of their identity is to be seen in their connexion with Moses; thus, we are told that *Metatron* helped to bury the body of Moses, *Jer. Targ.* (Jonathan) to Deut. 34^{6}, and we have seen how he is represented as comforting God on the death of Moses; Michael, it is said, would not bring the soul of Moses to God, because he had been Moses' teacher; the passage does not seem clear, but the point is that he is brought into connexion with Moses, after the death of the latter, just as *Metatron* is.

In the Prayer-Book of the Jews of Abyssinia there is a very curious account of the death of Moses which is

[1] I.e., 589–1040 A.D.; the *Geonim*, "Princes" (of the Captivity), were the acknowledged heads of the academies or schools of Sura and Pumbeditha, in Babylonia; they were the official heads of dispersed Judaism in things judicial as well as spiritual.

[2] L. Blau in *JE*, viii, 519, where further details will be found.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Chagigah* 12^{b}.

recited as part of the Office for the Burial of the Dead; in this, Michael, the Angel of Death (in a different sense of course from Sammael, and corresponding perhaps to Isis and Nephthys among the Egyptians), plays an important part.[1] Cf. in this connexion Jude 9: *But Michael the Archangel when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses.* . . .

vi. METATRON *one of the angels.* In an extraordinary passage (*Chagigah* 15[a]) it is shown clearly, if somewhat drastically, that *Metatron*, in spite of the very pre-eminent position which he seems to occupy, was, in reality, of the angelic order, and nothing more. This passage describes how Elisha ben Abujah entered Paradise, and there "saw *Metatron*, to whom was given the power to sit and write down the merits of Israel." Elisha ben Abujah said: "It is taught that on high there is no sitting, no strife, no parting, and no joining. Can there be, Heaven forbid! two powers?" Then, we are told, "they brought out *Metatron* and gave him sixty lashes of fire." This was done, as Mr. Herford points out (quoting *Tosaphoth*), to show that *Metatron* was not superior in kind to the other angels, however much he might be in degree.[2] This passage is significant from another point of view altogether, for it bears witness, in an unmistakable manner, to the fact that popular belief *did* regard *Metatron* as a being who was, at the lowest estimate, semi-divine. We are often apt, at the present day, to regard as allegorical or parabolic the *substance* as well as the form of many a belief contained in the Talmud and other kindred writings; it seems to us, nowadays, quite incredible that people in a high state of civilization and religious progress should have actually believed many things which we could not regard as otherwise than the product of fantastic imagination; nevertheless, it is well that we should try and divest ourselves of this erroneous impression; let it be remembered that even in the late Middle Ages—nay,

[1] See *Mota Musē*, ed. Faïtlovitch (Paris 1906).
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 288.

so late as a few generations ago—there was, in the world in general, no clear differentiation beween fable and fact; what must, therefore, have been the mental attitude towards all that partook, or was believed to partake, of a supernatural character five hundred years and more earlier? Above all, let it be remembered that the innate religiousness of the Jew, to which reference has already been made in an earlier chapter, necessarily increases the tendency, more or less common to all in an unscientific age, to formulate theories, which soon crystallize into belief, concerning all that has to do with the invisible world of supernatural agencies. The passage to which reference has been made, shows not merely that *Metatron* was regarded as a personality endued with supernatural powers—that was universal among the Palestinian Jews as well as those of the *Diaspora*—but that he was by some, at all events, believed to come perilously near equality with God. It was for this latter reason, primarily, as it seems to us, that the passage last quoted was written; and it was designed to show those whom it concerned that great as *Metatron* was, he was nevertheless, of no higher being than such as was proper to the order of angels.

II. Memra, The "Word."

There are two roots in Hebrew from which the noun "Word" can come, *dabar* and *'amar*, and both are used in reference to the "Word" of God. Whatever may originally have been the difference between these two is immaterial for our present purpose; but it is the latter from which *Memra* comes, and it is this which has come to be used specifically of God's "Word."

It is worth noting that Philo uses *Rēma* and *Logos* indiscriminately (see below); but just as in the case of *Memra*, so it is with Logos, which has come to be used technically; both, as we shall see, became personal names.

But for the history of the *idea* of the "Word" of God,

it is of no importance which of the two roots is used; so that, although *Memra* is never used in the Old Testament, we must, nevertheless, look to the Old Testament in order to follow the history of the idea. In none of the intermediate agencies with which we are dealing can the development be so clearly seen as in the case of the *Memra*, or "Word" of God; this development can be most easily followed if it is illustrated by means of some quotations from the different sources:—

i. In a number of passages in the *Old Testament* the expression the "Word," in reference to Jehovah, is used in a way which, one can easily understand, appeared to Jewish thinkers of a later age to indicate that the "Word" meant something more than a mere abstraction; a few such passages may be given:—

Deut. 5^{5}: *I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to show you the word of the Lord.*

Num. 15^{31}: *He hath despised the word of the Lord.*

Ps. 105^{19}: *The word of the Lord tried him.*

Ps. 107^{20}: *He sendeth his word and healeth them.*

Ps. 119^{11}: *Thy word have I hid in my heart.*

Remembering what has already been said as to the great difference there is between Eastern and Western ways of thought, between twentieth century ways of looking at things and those of two thousand years ago, one can readily understand that when passages such as these came to be explained the idea of the "word" being something not identical with Jehovah naturally suggested itself.

ii. In post-biblical times one can see reflected in the *Apocrypha* how this development had proceeded. It is there seen that God's action, and especially His *creative* activity, was conceived of as working *through* His word; this was taken to be the meaning, e.g., of such a passage as, *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made* (Ps. 33^{6}); and the whole of the Creation, as described in Gen. 1, was believed to have been accomplished by means of his word.

One is irresistibly reminded of Jn. 1^{1-5}; these verses, or at any rate the first three, are strictly in accord with orthodox Jewish teaching, though the Jewish *interpretation* of them would obviously differ from that of a Christian (See further below).

The following passages will illustrate this development :

Ecclus. 42^{15} : *In the words of the Lord are his works.*

Wisd. 9^{1} : *O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, Who hast made all things with thy word. . . ;* $18^{15, 16}$ *: Thine almighty word leaped down heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction, and brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death; and it touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.*

2 (4) Esdras 6^{38} : *Thy word was* (i.e., made) *a perfect work ;* the reference is to the first day of creation.

iii. In turning to the Targums we find this exemplified further, but, as will be seen, a considerable development takes place, the " Word " becomes now a definite *personality.*

Exod. 19^{17} : *And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God ;* the Targum of Onkelos explains these words as meaning that " Moses led the people forth to meet the *Word* of God."

Deut. 1^{30} : *The Lord your God goeth before you ;* the same Targum paraphrases : " Jehovah, your God, whose *Word* leads you."

Deut. 4^{19} : *Lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all the peoples under the whole heaven ;* " The other nations are subject unto the stars, but Israel is the heritage of Memra."

Deut. 5^{5} : *I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to show you the word of the Lord,* is explained ; " I stood between the *Word* of Jehovah and you."

Again, the Targum of Jonathan gives the following explanations of the respective passages of Scripture:

2 Sam. 6[7]: *And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God;* "The Memra of God slew Uzzah."

1 Kings 8[50]: *Forgive thy people which have sinned against thee;* "Forgive the people all their misdeeds, which they have committed against thee and against thy *Word*."

2 Kings 19[28]: *Because of thy raging* (i.e. Sennacherib's) *against me, and for that thine arrogancy is come up into my ears, therefore will I put my hook into thy nose. . . .;* "Thou hast angered my *Word*."

iv. It is very necessary that a brief reference should be made to the teaching of Philo concerning the divine *Word* or *Logos*. This great Jewish philosopher, who lived during the whole of Christ's sojourn here on earth, combined in his teaching the faith of Judaism with the philosophy of Greece. "By the *Logos* Philo understands *the power of God, or the active Divine intelligence in general;* he designates it as the idea which comprises all other ideas, the power which comprises all powers in itself, as the entirety of the supersensuous world of the Divine powers."[1] The *Logos*, which is also spoken of as *Rēma*, is the means whereby the creation of the world was effected. But there are two points in the teaching of Philo on this subject which are of very special interest from the Christian point of view, because they stand midway between the Jewish and Christian doctrines of mediation. The first is that the *Logos* occupies the position of intermediary between God and His created world; he is the interceder for mortals to the Immortal, and he comes as the

[1] Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung* iii, 2, p. 371, quoted in Schürer, *op. cit.*, II, iii, 374.

messenger of God, to proclaim God's will; while he is called the first-born of God, who was from the beginning, he is yet "after the likeness of man"; as man's advocate and interceder with God he is spoken of as the "High-priest." The second is that his main work is the liberation of man from evil; he himself is free from sin both conscious and unconscious, and he is said to live in the hearts of men to keep them from sin and destruction; if he leaves the heart of a man, guilt gains the upper hand. Like the *Memra* of the Targums the *Logos* of Philo regards the Jewish nation as his special care.

In connexion with the above compare Jn. 1^{1-3}: *In the beginning was the Word . . . all things were made by him: and without him was not anything made that hath been made.* See also Rom. 8^{34}: *It is Christ . . . who also maketh intercession for us:* cf. Heb. 7^{25}; Col. 1^{15}: *Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation.* Phil. 2^{7}: . . . *Being made in the likeness of men . . .;* cf. Rom. 8^{3}: Again in Jn. 3^{8}: *To this end was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.* Heb. $4^{14,15}$: *Having then a great high-priest who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God . . .* cf. 11^{9}. Heb. 4^{15}: . . . *But one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.* And lastly, Jn. 15^{5}: *Without me ye can do nothing.*

v. As an example of the somewhat later Jewish teaching, the following, from *Shir rabbah*[1] is instructive, as it illustrates the underlying conception of the *Memra*. The passage is dealing with the account of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, and it is explained that the "Word" (*Memra*) came forth from the mouth of God when the Ten Commandments were pronounced, and

[1] Weber p. 180.

went forth to each Israelite, asking each if he would accept these commandments, and telling him at the same time the duties involved, as well as the rewards to be received in case of obedience. As soon as an Israelite signified his willingness to become obedient to the Law, the "Word" kissed him on his lips.

Reviewing the passages as a whole one may say that the "Word" is represented as a divine power, working for the salvation of Israel; this divine power becomes developed into a *Personality*, who, as we have seen, occupies a position of mediator between God and His chosen people.

vi. A word as to how it came about at all that the conception of the *Memra* arose will find an appropriate place here. No doubt it was in part due to the exigencies of biblical interpretation, as pointed out in § i above; but that can only have been one of the results of the evolution of the idea which must have been working in the minds of Jewish thinkers centuries before. The real reason lay deeper. In post-biblical Jewish theology there is little to show that God Almighty *personally* directs the course of the world's history. Yet it was unthinkable that God's interest in His people should have become any less than it was of old, or that there was no divine interference in the history of the nations which had been such a marked feature in the teaching of the great prophets. On the one hand, that is to say, it was held to be derogatory on the part of Jehovah to concern Himself *personally* with mere human affairs,[1] for His glory and majesty and transcendent greatness seemed to place Him infinitely distant from insignificant and weak mortals. On the other hand, it was inconceivable that God should forget about and forsake His own creation. The question, therefore, arose as to how it was possible to believe in God's activity in the world without detracting, as it seemed,

[1] See the chapter on *GOD*.

from His majesty and honour? How to steer a middle course between the belief that God deputed certain actions to His representatives, and avoiding the danger to the fundamental tenet of Judaism, the unity of God? The religious teachers hit upon the *via media* of the belief in such intermediate agencies as the *Memra* and *Metatron*, who accomplished God's will on earth. They were inferior to God, having been created by Him; but being endowed with divine attributes, they were His representatives, in a special manner, in all their activity on earth.[1]

vii. It is interesting to notice that the teaching concerning the "Word" is faintly observable even in the modern Jewish Liturgy. In the Evening Service of the Synagogue occurs the following: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who at thy *word* bringest on the evening twilight. . . ."[2] On another occasion it says: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, by whose *word* all things exist";[3] and again, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, by whose *word* the heavens were created, and by the breath of whose mouth all their host." This latter is the commencement of the act of praise which is ordered to be said on the appearance of the new moon.[4]

It will be noticed that in each case here it is in connexion with the divine creative activity that the *word* is mentioned; so that here again one is forcibly reminded of Jn. 1^{1-3}.

III. The Holy Spirit.

The first question that naturally arises is that of the Spirit's

i. *Personality.* It is by no means always clear as to

[1] Cf. the doctrine of the Demiurge in the Gnostic systems of the second and third centuries A.D.

[2] Singer, p. 96.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 290. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

whether one is justified in speaking at all of the *Personality* of the Holy Spirit in Jewish theology. In the Bible, "spirit" (*ruach*) is not a word of uniform gender; in like manner the *Spirit* is, in post-biblical Jewish writings, spoken of interchangeably as masculine and feminine; thus in the Talmud and Midrash it is used now as feminine and now as masculine, but more usually as a feminine.[1] This is important, for, as is well known, the feminine in Hebrew and cognate languages is often used for the neuter; therefore if and when *ruach* ("spirit") is referred to as a feminine noun, it must be regarded as *impersonal*. And in various passages it is so used; for example, when spoken of as a power going out from God [2] there is clearly no thought of individual personality connected with it. But, on the other hand, personality is certainly implied in such a passage as *Wayyikra rabbah* c. 6, when the Spirit is spoken of as the defender of Israel, who enumerates before God the merits of the Israelites;[3] or again in *Debarim rabbah* c. 11, where quotations from the Bible are referred to as the Spirit's utterances.[4] But then again, when the activity of the Holy Spirit is described as light from God, or as a divine mode of utterance (*Bereshith rabbah* c. 85), or as the "spirit of prophecy" (*Jer. Targ.* to Gen. 43^{14}), the idea of personality obviously recedes; yet, his manifold activity, above all as the inspirer of Holy Scripture, as clearly implies personality.

It would seem that as the personality of the Holy Spirit became expressed more distinctly and explicitly, this development provoked keener and more intense hostility in Rabbinical circles. It cannot be denied that certain

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[1] Weber, p. 191.

[2] This would accord with the definition which Maimonides gives of the Holy Spirit, viz., "a divine potency."

[3] Cf. I, iii above for the like office of *Metatron*.

[4] Cf. 1 Pet. 1^{21}, *Knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation . . . but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit.*

passages in the Old Testament are strongly suggestive of the personality of the Spirit, for example: Is. $40^{13, 14}$, *Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord or being his counsellor hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and showed to him understanding?* Or Is. 48^{16}, *And now the Lord God hath sent me and his spirit.* Ps. 139^{7}, *Whither shall I go then from thy spirit?* And, as we have seen, there are indications in the post-biblical literature which confirm and emphasize such biblical examples. We must enquire next as to the Spirit's

ii. *Relationship to God.* According to Jewish belief the Holy Spirit was created; the words of Gen. 1^{2} (*The spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*) is interpreted as an act of creation on the part of God. It is interesting to observe that the Holy Spirit is spoken of as "Light of Light;"[1] but though this expression accords with that found in the Nicene Creed, it does not, of course, imply the same truth. One may perhaps regard as an analogy, as far as the Jewish doctrine is concerned, the light which is said to have shone from the face of Moses on his descending from Mount Sinai (Ex. 39^{24} ff.). That the Holy Spirit does not "proceed" from the Father in the Christian sense is clear from the comment on Gen. 1^{2} just referred to, which is that found in the *Targ. of Onkelos;* he is, moreover, spoken of in the *Jer Targ.* to Gen. 41^{38} (*A man in whom the Spirit of God is*) as the "Spirit (coming) from before Jehovah" (ruach min qedem Jahweh), an expression which precludes the idea of emanation from the Deity. He is rather the Spirit who is sent out, like other messengers, from the presence of God to accomplish the divine commands.

For the idea of the Spirit being a messenger, i.e., *angel*, see Bousset, *op. cit.* p. 343; to the references there given may perhaps be added the account of the Holy Spirit being sent

[1] Weber, p. 190.

to Isaiah during his martyrdom (cf. Luke 22 [43]). In the pseudepigraphic work, called *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* [1] (5 [14]), occurs the following: "But Isaiah neither cried out nor wept while he was being sawn asunder (cf. Hebr. 11 [37]), but his mouth conversed with the Holy Spirit until he had been sawn in two."

It is said (*Yoma* 21[b]) that in early times the Holy Spirit, acting as God's messenger, was always at work in the midst of Israel; but, apparently, during, and after, the Exile this ceased, for he was not present in the Second Temple; indeed, he is said to have returned to God after the destruction of Solomon's Temple. On the other hand, it would seem that his activity had not entirely ceased in later times, for it is said that after the time of Malachi he no more inspired men to write books of the Bible, though in other respects he influenced men. As though to try and account for this inconsistency, it is taught that in the post-exilic and later times the Holy Spirit was indeed still at work, but that it was only in special cases that he manifested his activity, and that even then he worked in a more secret way than in earlier days.

iii. *Activity among men.* This has already been incidentally referred to in the two preceding sections; we may, however, very briefly recapitulate those points which specifically concern men. No doubt, the chief function, under this head, of the Holy Spirit is his inspiring men to write the books of the Bible; this may appear, at first sight, to imply a certain restriction in his activity, but it was not really so, for the influence which induced the writing of the books would naturally be understood as working also upon those who read them or who heard them read. Then again, his subordinate personality is shown in that he is the messenger who reveals God's will

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[1] Ed. Kautsch; this is the first part of the larger work called *The Ascension of Isaiah*, and is the only part of the work which is Jewish, and belongs to the first century A.D.

to the hearts of men; his voice,[1] which is sometimes spoken of as audible to the outward ear, at other times as audible to the inner ear of the heart, directs men in their conduct of life,[2] and answers in fact to what we should call conscience. He is also spoken of as the "spirit of prophecy,"[3] the word being used in the sense both of fore-telling and forth-telling; and he is given more especially, as we should expect, to those men who study the Law (*Wayyikra rabbah* c. 35).

In the pseudepigraphic work called *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* he is spoken of as the "spirit of truth" (*Judah* 20); so, too, in the *Book of Jubilees*, we read: "And at that time, when the spirit of truth (another reading is 'the Holy Spirit') had descended into her (i.e., Rebecca's) mouth, she laid her two hands upon the head of Jacob and said: 'Praise be unto thee, Lord of truth and God of eternity'" (25^{14-16}).

iv. *Identified with "Wisdom."* What is in some respects the most striking point about the Jewish doctrine of the Holy Spirit is his identification with the *Wisdom* of God; this brings out most strongly, as will be seen, the belief in the personality of the Spirit. Out of a number of passages the two following may be selected: Wisd. 1^{4-7}, *For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin; for the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit . . . for wisdom is a loving spirit, and will not acquit a blasphemer of his words; for God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world.* 11^{17}, *And thy counsel who hath known, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above.*

One is irresistibly reminded of the words of Isaiah (11^{2}): *The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding. . . .*

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[1] See below under *Bath Kol*, p. 189.

[2] Cf. Eph. 4^{30}, *Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God.* Rom. 8^{6}, *The Spirit helpeth our infirmity.*

[3] Cf. Rev. 19^{10}, *The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.*

This teaching, moreover, is not wanting in Midrashic literature; for example, in *Bereshith rabbah* c. 85 it is said that Solomon's wisdom was the Holy Spirit guiding him. Further references illustrating this identification could be considerably multiplied.

v. In connexion with the Jewish doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit a word must be said about the curious phenomenon known as the *Bath Kol* (literally: "The daughter-voice"). The expression means a divine utterance audibly proclaimed. It made itself heard in a variety of ways, according to the character of the hearer, or according to the particular circumstances which called forth its exercise; thus, at one time it is compared to the roaring of a lion, at another to the murmuring of a dove, or the chirping of a bird; sometimes it is said to have been so loud that it could be heard miles away, for example, when Moses died, it is said (*Sotah* 13^b) that a *Bath Kol* proclaimed it in so loud a voice that it was heard at a distance of twelve miles in each direction.[1] The words spoken by the *Bath Kol* were always few in number, and were as a rule taken from Scripture. But what is of chief interest here is that the *Bath Kol* was identified with the Holy Spirit, or spoken of as the voice of the Holy Spirit (*Sotah* 33^a; *Shabbath* 88^a); in the former of these passages it is said that a *Bath Kol* proceeded out of the "Holy of Holies," where only the *Shekhinah* (see below) and the Holy Spirit are conceived of as dwelling; it is, however, quite exceptional when the *Bath Kol* proceeds from any earthly spot, in almost every case the voice comes from heaven (e.g., *Sota* 48^b *Jer. Targ.* [*Pseudo-Jon.*] to Num. 21^6; *Jer. Targ.* to Deut. 28^{15}).[2] It is pointedly observed by Weber (*op. cit.* p. 194) that the Holy Spirit and the *Bath Kol* were both the means whereby divine revelations were accorded to

[1] *JE*, ii, 589.
[2] See further Weber, pp. 194, 195. *JE*, ii, 589 ff.

man ; but the earlier and fuller revelations were given by means of the Holy Spirit who inspired men, such as the prophets, in abundant, overflowing measure, whereas the later and more restricted form of revelation was given by means of the *Bath Kol*, who only acted as a kind of oracle, giving only short answers to questions, curt decisions and the like ; in a word, while the Holy Spirit was poured out into the hearts of men and afforded them permanent spiritual sustenance and guidance, the *Bath Kol* gave merely incidental directions. Compare, in this connexion, the words in Jn. 3^{34}, *For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God ; for he giveth not the Spirit by measure.* There are other indications in the New Testament of a spiritualized belief in the *Bath Kol ;* in the account of Christ's baptism (Matt. 3^{13-17} ; Mark, 9^{1-11} ; Luke 3^{21-22} ; there is no mention of the voice from heaven in Jn. 1^{19-34}) the mention of the voice from heaven and of the Spirit of God is certainly striking in view of what has been said ; then, again, in the account of the Transfiguration we read of a " voice out of the cloud " (Matt. 17^{5} ; Mark, 9^{7} ; Luke, 9^{35}) ; other instances are : Jn. 12^{28-30}, the " voice out of heaven," which the people took for thunder (cf. $5^{37, 38}$, *Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his form ; and ye have not his word abiding in you*) ; Acts $10^{13, 16}$, the voice which came to St. Peter bidding him to eat ; but as this occurs in a trance it is not strictly analogous ; more to the point is Acts 9^{3-7}, where the voice is accompanied by what certainly corresponds to the *Shekhinah* in Jewish theology (a " light out of heaven ") ; Rev. 10^{4}, " A voice from heaven," and 14^{13}, where the " voice from heaven " is that of the Spirit.[1]

The *Bath Kol*, in Jewish theology, does not, however, stand in the same category as the " Intermediate agencies " already spoken about, for personality is not attributed

[1] Cf. further the art. *Voice* in Hastings *DCG*.

to it ; where this seems to be the case we must regard it as indicating identity between it and the Holy Spirit. It should be added that in later times the *Bath Kol* as a means of revelation fell into discredit in Rabbinical circles.

IV. The Shekhinah.

This word comes from a root meaning " to dwell," or " to abide " ; this fact is one of importance, and worth remembering in view of the references given below, for the idea of " dwelling " or " abiding upon or in " is that which underlies the use of the *Shekhinah* whenever it occurs.

The origin of the *Shekhinah* in its technical sense, is to be found in such Old Testment passages as Ex. 40^{34} ff., in which we are told that the " glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle " [1], and the " cloud " *dwelt* (*shâkan*) over it. The glory of the Lord, conceived of as a bright shining cloud, was the sign of the divine presence or indwelling. Thus the ideas of God's " glory " and of His " indwelling " are very closely connected ; one was the earnest of the other, and ultimately they became identified. But inasmuch as this *sign* of the presence of God was conceived of as something concrete, i.e., a cloud, it was in a certain sense differentiated from God Himself. This it was which in the speculations of later days gave a handle to the idea that the *medium* of God's indwelling itself partook of the nature of personality. It was, of course, a long process whereby the evolution of the idea ultimately reached its final form. In the earlier stages there are indications of somewhat *naïve* conceptions ; thus in Ex. $33^{9,10}$ we read, *And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended and stood at the door of the Tent, and spake* [2] *with Moses. And all the people saw*

[1] The Hebrew word for tabernacle is *mishkan*, and comes from the same root as *Shekhinah ;* it was so called on account of its being Jehovah's " dwelling-place " on earth (see Ex. 25^{8}, $29^{45, 46}$).

[2] The R.V. insertion of " the Lord " before " spake " has no equivalent in the original, and is, therefore, not justified ; it is the " cloud " which is represented as speaking with Moses.

the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent ; and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. Other passages, such as that referred to previously (Ex. 40^{34} ff.), take a more spiritual view, and in these the idea of imputing personality or any independent action to the visible sign of God's glory is wholly absent ; so that, as one would naturally expect, the evolution proceeds from materialistic to abstract conceptions.

When we turn to the post-biblical literature the phenomena that meet us are ambiguous in character, and have been interpreted in different ways. It would seem that in the Targums the " glory of God " (which, as we have seen, is closely connected with the *Shekhinah,*) is represented as the *sign* of the divine presence, i.e., wholly impersonal in character—an " expression for the various relations of God to the world " [1]—and this is true perhaps, to a certain extent, of the Talmud also. But the phenomena in each case have conflicting features which have led some scholars, and even Rabbis, among whom is Maimonides, to regard the *Shekhinah* as a distinct entity, and " as light created to be intermediary between God and the world."

These points can be illustrated from the few following examples. The paraphrase of Ex. 34^{5} found in the Targum of (Pseudo-) Jonathan runs, " And the Lord manifested himself in the clouds of the glory of his *Shekhinah ;* in the Targum of Onkelos to Num. $6^{25\,ff.}$ the " face (in the sense of appearance or presence) of the Lord " is spoken of as the *Shekhinah.* In the Talmud, on the other hand, the *Shekhinah* appears in its relationship with men as one person dealing with another ; for example, in *Sota* 3^{b} it is said that before Israel sinned the *Shekhinah* dwelt with every man severally, but that after they sinned it was taken away. Again, an interesting instance is found in *Bereshith rabbah* c. 19, where it is

[1] Hamburger.

explained that in the beginning the *Shekhinah* dwelt on earth, but when Adam sinned it withdrew into the first heaven, after Cain sinned it withdrew into the second heaven, in the days of Enoch into the third,[1] at the time of the Flood into the fourth, when men were scattered over the face of the earth into the fifth, at the time of the sinning of Sodom and Gomorrah into the sixth, and at the time of Egypt's supremacy in the days of Abraham into the seventh ; then it goes on to say that through seven righteous men, namely Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kehath, Amram and Moses, the *Shekhinah* was brought back step by step, until, in the days of Moses, it came and took up its dwelling in the Tabernacle. Thus the *Shekhinah* takes independent action, it is conceived as something distinct from God, yet emanating from and belonging to Him. This witnesses to much the same train of thought which was seen to be at work in the case of *Metatron ;* God, it was said, is too great and holy to be Himself present among men, and therefore He deputes this intermediary to convey His presence to the earth, while He Himself remains in Heaven. The presence of the *Shekhinah* among men is a belief well illustrated in a passage in *Pirke Aboth*[2] (" Sayings of the Fathers ") viz., 3^3: " Rabbi Chananiah ben Teradyon said, Two that sit together without words of Torah are a session of scorners . . . but two that sit together and are occupied in words of Torah have the *Shekhinah* among them."[3] In *Sota* 17^a it is said : " Man and wife, if they be deserving, have the *Shekhinah* between them."

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[1] For the idea of the " third heaven " cf. 2 Cor. $12.^2$. According to *Chagigah* 12^b and elsewhere there exists over the earth a seven-fold heaven ; the uppermost is called " Araboth," and it is here that God Himself dwells, it is His *Mechiza* (" habitation ").

[2] A treatise of the *Mishnah* containing the oldest collection of rabbinical sayings ; it is incorporated in the Jewish Prayer-Book.

[3] The wording here reminds one of Matt. 18^{20}, *Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them.*

In some passages in the New Testament the thought of the *Shekhinah* is suggested; e.g., Luke 1^{36}, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee* (=theophanic cloud); again, in the account of the Transfiguration, already referred to in connexion with *Bath Kol*, the words, *and his face did shine as the sun, and his garments became white as the light* (Matt. 17^{2}), are significant; see also, Jn. 1^{14}, *And we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten of the Father;* Acts 9^{3}, . . . *and suddenly there shone round about him a light out of heaven.*

> "*Shekhinah* is sometimes practically equivalent to *Memra* (Logos), but we may distinguish between them by regarding the one as the medium of a *passive*, the other of an *active* manifestation; the one a creative, the other as overshadowing or indwelling. The two are brought together by St. John, in whose theology the conceptions assume a new definiteness, and the medium becomes a Mediator: *The Word* (Logos) *became flesh and tabernacled among us* (1^{14}). The word *skēnē* (tabernacle) and its derivatives are chosen on account of their assonance with the Hebrew to express the *Shekhinah* and its dwelling with men—cf. especially Rev. 21^{3}, *Behold, the tabernacle* (*skēnē*) *of God is with men, and he shall dwell* (R.V. mg "tabernacle" [*skēnōsei*]) with them—and indeed, so closely does *Shekhinah* resemble *skēnē*, that the former has even been thought of as a transliteration of the latter. The word is rare in the *Mishnah*, but occurs frequently in *Midrash* and *Gemara*."[1]

Whether the *Name* of God can be reckoned among these "Hypostases" is open to question; it certainly stands in quite a subordinate position in this respect when compared with those dealt with above, but see on the subject Bousset, pp. 343, 344. On the personification of Wisdom, see chap. x, The "Messiah."

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The importance of the doctrines and thought-tendencies, which have been passed in review above, as illustrating

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[1] Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* ("Pirke Aboth"), p. 44; see, too, p. 154 (2nd ed.).

the rise and growth of the expression of *Christian* ideas is obvious ; but it should be added that they largely belong to the wider and richer Judaism which has had to give place to the narrower and more restricted Judaism of subsequent times.

CHAPTER X.[1]

The Jewish Doctrine of the Messiah.

Belief in the Messiah one of Growth and Development—Messianic Teaching in the Apocrypha—Messianic Teaching in the Pseudepigrapha—Contrast between Pharisaic and Jewish-Hellenistic Teaching—The Teaching of later Judaism.

[Literature:—Schürer, *HJP* II, ii. pp. 126–187; Weber, pp. 348–405; Bousset, pp. 195–276; Dalman, *Words*, pp. 289–324; Friedländer, *Die rel. Bewegungen*, pp. 1–177; Holtzmann pp. 395–410; Schechter, *JQR*, VII, pp. 195–215; *JE*, art. "Messiah."]

I.

As the roots of the Jewish teaching on this subject reach back to the Old Testament it is indispensable that a very brief *résumé* of the leading points on Messianic doctrine as there embodied should be enumerated here.

The belief in the Messiah is one of growth and development. It will be unnecessary to labour this point, for one has but to compare—to give but one example—the teaching of such a Messianic passage as Gen. 49^{8-12} with the Isaianic teaching on the subject, to see what an astounding advance in spiritual conception has taken place. A comparison between other passages, belonging respectively to early and late periods shows a like difference of ideal. Secondly, Messianic belief was very far from being always of a *spiritual* character; indeed, one may go so far as to say that *material* and worldly conceptions of the Messiah form the normal belief. When spiritual heights are reached, it is exceptional; this is so up to the very end. In the third place, we find that in the Old Testament—and it is the same in the later

[1] The subject of this chapter is in some respects so inextricably bound up with that of Eschatology, treated in chap xi, that these two chapters should be read in conjunction.

literature—Messianic teaching is concerned with a *Person* and with an *Era*. These two do not by any means always run concurrently. Sometimes the Person of the Messiah is most prominent and the Messianic Era is lost sight of altogether; at other times the reverse is the case, the Person of the Messiah recedes, and the Messianic Era, with its unmistakeable characteristics, fills the entire foreground. Then again, at other times, both ideas are combined. Fourthly, the characteristics and calling of the Messiah differ according to different ages, such characteristics being conditioned mainly by the circumstances of the time; this is what might be naturally expected if, according to our first point, the belief concerning him was one of growth and development. Lastly, the Messiahship is fastened on to various historical personages, before the real Messiah of prophecy appeared; examples of this are, Cyrus (Isa. 45^{1}), Zerubbabel (Hag. 2^{23}; Zech. 3^{8}; 6^{12}).

Put in the briefest possible way, and without any attempt at detail, these seem to be the chief points to be remembered as far as the *frame-work* and main ideas of Messianic teaching in the Old Testament are concerned.

II.

In the *Apocrypha* the most striking fact concerning Messianic teaching is that whereas the Messianic *Era* and the signs of its approach receive here and there a certain amount of notice, the personality of the Messiah is hardly referred to excepting in 2 (4) Esdras. This is not the place to try to show that if the conceptions of the Messiah and the Messianic Era did not originate in the time of David, at any rate the personality of David and his reign offered an unique basis upon which to found Messianic teaching; but the truth of this is, at the least, adumbrated in such a passage as Ecclus. 47^{11}; for after enumerating the virtues of David (vv. 1–10), it goes on: "The Lord took away his sins, and

exalted his horn for ever, and gave him the law of the Kingdom (cf. Deut. 14^{18}), and set his throne over Israel." The everlasting character ("for ever") of the Kingdom shows infallibly that the writer had the *Messianic* Kingdom in mind; this could be proved by many Old Testament and other passages, cf. 1 Macc. 2^{57}. The Book of Tobit offers, at all events, one passage which deals with the subject; it is an interesting passage, for it is an instance of the hope of the coming Messianic Kingdom being used for cheering despondent captives (14^{5}); the writer draws a distinction between the modest little Temple, as he sees it (namely that of Zerubbabel)—so different from the glorious Temple, the building of which David's forethought rendered possible—and the Temple that is to be, the Temple of the Messiah; ". . . and the house of God shall be built in it (i.e., in Jerusalem), a glorious building, for all future generations, even as the prophets spoke concerning it." Very striking in the same passage is the teaching concerning the "universalistic" character of the Messianic Kingdom: "And all the Gentiles shall turn to the truth and fear of the Lord God, and they shall bury their idols. And all the Gentiles shall praise the Lord, and his people shall render thanks to God, and the Lord will exalt his people, and all they that love the Lord God in truth and justice shall rejoice, in showing mercy to our brethren" ($14^{6,7}$). This inclusion of the Gentile world in the Messianic Kingdom is identical with that of the highest prophetical teaching on the subject; the narrow exclusiveness of Pharisaism was in striking contrast to this universal character of the Messianic Kingdom as here depicted. One of the most instructive passages in the Apocrypha on this subject is 1 Macc. 14^{4-15}, for here we have some of the stereotyped characteristics of the Messianic Kingdom described as actually in existence during the leadership of Simon, surnamed Thassi, who was the founder of the high-priestly dynasty of the Hasmoneans (B.C. 143–135); a few verses

from this passage may be quoted in order to show that the condition of the country is described in terms with which we are familiar in other Messianic passages: v. 8, "Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit" (cf. Lev. 26^4 ff.; Ezek. 34^{27}); vv. 11, 12, "He (i.e. Simon) made peace in the land and Israel rejoiced with great joy; for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to make them afraid" (cf. 1 Kings, 5^5; Mic. 4^4); v. 14, "He raised up all that were brought low among his people; he was very zealous for the Law, he drove away every renegade and every wicked man"; v. 14, "The Sanctuary he made glorious, and multiplied the holy vessels." One sees how the whole passage resounds with the characteristic key-notes of the Messianic Era,—Peace, Plenty, Justice, Observance of the *Torah*, and a glorious Temple. It is quite what might be expected when we find the author—under God—of these blessings, singled out for especial honour; for according to 14^{41}, the quasi-royal high-priesthood is to become hereditary in his family.

But the only book in the Apocrypha which deals in detail with the *personality* of the Messiah is 2 (4) Esdras; this book, however, shows manifest signs of interpolation, and in considering it from the point of view of the *Jewish* doctrine of the Messiah and his kingdom considerable caution is needed; thus chaps. ii and xvi, which have so much of a Messianic character, are obviously from a Christian hand, and do not belong to the book in its original form. The sixth vision describes how Esdras saw a man that came out of the sea, against whom were gathered an innumerable multitude of men who had come from the four winds of Heaven to subdue him. But the man went up into a mountain, and as the multitude came against him, he destroyed it with fire that came out of his mouth, and suddenly there was nothing to be seen, but only dust and the smell of smoke. Then

another multitude was gathered about him, this time peaceable (13^{1-13}). In the interpretation of this vision, it is said that the man who came out of the sea is the redeemer of the world who will come and make all things right on earth; against him the nations of the world will rise up, but he shall stand on the top of Mount Zion and destroy them with his word. Then he will call to himself the scattered ten tribes (the "peaceable multitude"), and will defend them, and show them great wonders (13^{14-50}). These wonders are the annihilation of all the enemies of God, the gathering together of all those who are faithful to God,—i.e., the dispersed of Israel—and the inauguration of the Messianic Era, which will last for four hundred years. After this the Messiah and all flesh shall die; then shall follow the general resurrection, and the Most High shall judge the world; and finally there shall be a new world. There is one point of peculiar interest in the presentation of the Messiah in this book; in 12^{32} it is said, "... that is the Anointed, whom the most High has kept for the end of the days, who will arise and come forth out of the seed of David ..." ;[1] but, as we have just seen, the Messiah was He who "came up out of the sea," and who came "flying upon the clouds of Heaven"; [2] the Messiah, therefore, is here represented as, on the one hand, of the seed of David, and thus human, but on the other hand, as superhuman, coming upon the clouds of Heaven. The belief in the pre-existence of the Messiah is one which often occurs in Rabbinical literature (e.g., *Sanhedrin* 98^b; *Targ Jer.* to Mic. 4^8).

III.

In the *Pseudepigraphic* literature the various pictures of the Messiah and Messianic Era which we meet with are

[1] See Kautsch *in loc.*; the English Version here is not to be relied upon.

[2] Cf. Dan. 7^{13}.

very confusing. The reason of this is, firstly, that the different writers colour their treatment of the subject in accordance with the varying historical circumstances of the times. But then, again, there are two distinct sets of ideas both with regard to the *Messiah* as well as to the *Era*, which are often mixed up together. Of these the first deal with the whole subject as purely worldly and material; the Messiah is of the seed of David who is to come and set up a temporal kingdom, the enemies of Israel are to be destroyed with fire and sword; here the exclusive, nationalistic conceptions predominate. But side by side with these, and often inextricably mixed up with them, we find eschatological pictures; the end of the world, heralded by unprecedented terrors, is announced, and the Messiah is superhuman, the weapons wherewith the enemies of God are to be destroyed are spiritual; and it is no more a question of the supremacy of Israel alone, but all men who are faithful to God are to belong to the Messianic kingdom. It is necessary to bear these points in mind, in connexion with the references in this class of literature now to be given.

In that section of the Book of Enoch called "The Vision of the Seventy Shepherds" (chaps. 85–90), the Messiah is represented as a white bull; He comes at the end of the world, and all the Gentiles come and submit themselves to him. But this universalistic conception is placed in more or less close connexion with a narrower, nationalistic one, in which the Messiah recedes, and God Himself defends Israel from the attacks of their enemies; and the supremacy of Israel is established on earth; yet the Messiah does not appear to take any part in this Israelite supremacy on earth; God is their ruler. The Messiah does not appear in this section of the book as anything more than human. In another section (the *Similitudes*, chaps. 37–71) the Messiah is represented in quite a different manner; here he is spoken of as "the Righteous One," who "shall appear before the eyes of the

elect righteous" (38[2]), as the "Elect One who will sit on the throne of glory," and judge men; and the "Elect One will dwell among men," and heaven and earth will be transformed (45[3-6]); and, most significant of all, he is called "the Son of Man," and is "like one of the holy angels," and he occupies a seat in Heaven beside the "Ancient of days" (46[1]); in the same way, it is said of him that "before the sun and the signs (i.e., of the Zodiac) were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits" (48[3]), and he has been "chosen and hidden before Him before the Creation of the world, and for evermore" (48[6]). Here, then, the conception of the pre-existence of the Messiah comes out clearly, and therefore also his supernatural character. A similar thought comes out in the *Sibylline Oracles* (5[414 ff.]), "For a Blessed Man came from the vault of Heaven, bearing in his hands the sceptre which God had given him . . . "; in the same book, on the other hand, the Messiah is spoken of as "the King whom God will send from the rising of the sun (i.e. the East). . . (3[652ff.]). Further, in the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,* there is a description of the wonders that will take place when the Messiah is revealed (29[3]); under the figure of the destruction of a forest through overflowing water the seer describes the annihilation of the world-powers by the Messiah, who then reigns till all is completed (chaps. 36–60). In the same book, in the vision of the cloud rising from the sea, the Messiah is spoken of as lightning, which illumined the whole earth (53[9]); this is the same thought as that found in Matt. 24[27], *For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of man.*

It will have been noticed that in none of these books has there been any hint as to the Messiah being of the seed of David; of all the pseudepigraphic books there are only two in which this Messianic trait finds expression,

firstly, the *Psalms of Solomon*; indeed, in these psalms, there is a more detailed account of the personality of the Messiah and His rule than in any other book belonging to this class of literature. The Messianic conceptions, as one would naturally expect in a Pharisaic work, are of a thoroughly nationalistic and exclusive character; the Messiah will first cleanse Jerusalem by ridding it of unjust rulers and impious heathen; then he will gather together all Israel who are scattered among the nations, and settle them in their own land, where he will found his kingdom of peace and righteousness. All the Gentiles shall be subject to him; by the power of his word, sin and wickedness shall cease, and through his trust in God his kingdom will stand. But this Messiah is an Israelite of the seed of David: "Thou, Lord, hast chosen David to be King over Israel, and hast sworn to him concerning his seed at all times that his kingdom shall not cease from before Thee" (17^4 ff.). The other book in which the Messiah is represented as belonging to the seed of David is *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs;* but there is, at the same time, a very unusual conception of the Messiah here presented; for in the "Testament of Levi" the Messiah is represented as a Priest-King; in the vision of the Seven Men clothed in white garments, the Messiah is clothed with the priestly dress, and he puts on the wreath of righteousness and the jewel of understanding upon his breast, and the garment of truth and the diadem of faith, and the "mitre of the sign, and the garb of prophecy upon his shoulder;"[1] and they say to him: "Be thou from henceforth the priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever" (8); then, later on, it is said of him: "He will shine like the sun upon the earth, and he will take away all darkness from the earth, and there shall be peace upon the whole earth . . . and in his days shall the heavens rejoice, and the earth shall be

[1] Cf. Eph. vi, 13–17.

glad . . . and he shall open the gates of Paradise, and shall take away the sword that was drawn against Adam, and he shall feed his saints with the word of life, and the spirit of holiness shall rest upon him . . ." (18, the whole passage is a very beautiful one, and should be read). On the other hand, in the " Testament of Judah," it is again one of the seed of David who will be the Messiah, a star out of Jacob, who will reign in peace ; here, too, the universalistic tendency shows itself in the words : " And through him the sceptre of righteousness shall arise upon the heathen, to judge, and to save all who call upon the Lord " (24).

It will have been noticed that the representation of the Messiah in this pseudepigraphic literature is of a two-fold character. At one time particularistic, material, and temporal ideas predominate ; but mostly it is the universalistic, spiritual and heavenly character of the Messiah and his kingdom that finds expression. This latter teaching is of immense importance from the point of view of the Christian doctrine of the Messiah, as it helps us to understand the way in which men's minds had been prepared for the advent of Christ. The whole conception of the apocalyptic character of the Kingdom, which is to consist of the righteous who are God's elect, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, as well as of the Messiah in his spiritual, transcendental character, is probably of Jewish-Hellenistic origin ; while the narrow unimaginative picture of the Messiah is purely and characteristically Pharisaic. There seems, it cannot be denied, something entirely natural in the fact that the Pharisees, who lived on Palestinian soil and who inherited in a far more realistic way the national traditions, and especially the exclusive ideas which had been handed down from the time of Ezra, should be imbued with narrow views and should have an outlook which was circumscribed,—while the Jews of the *Dispersion*, who had come into such close contact with the outside world, and whose sympathies

had in consequence been proportionately broadened, should have had a far more extended horizon, and larger views concerning the Messiah and his kingdom. To Pharisaic Judaism the Messiah remained ever an earthly king, whose interest was centred in the children of Israel, and who cared little about the outside world; but to the Hellenistic Jew the Messiah was a heavenly King, whose dominion was to include the whole earth, whose subjects were to be *all* who were worthy of such a king, and whose kingdom was to be a spiritual one. It is small wonder that the Palestinian Jews should have thought that the presence of Christ among their brethren of the Dispersion would be more congenial to Him—*Will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks?* Jn. 7^{35}. If traces of the wider, universalistic conception are to be found in the later Talmudic literature (cf. § 1 of the next chapter), that only testifies to the power and attraction of this nobler and worthier teaching.

IV.

The twelfth Principle of the modern Jewish Creed runs: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and though He tarry, I will wait daily for His coming." [1] This is an exceedingly inadequate expression of the doctrine of the Messiah, as it says nothing about his nature and personality, nor of his duties, nor of the objects of his coming. The orthodox belief concerning the Jewish Messiah must be sought in the Talmud, "the final authority in Judaism," [2] and, as we shall see, the doctrine of the Messiah, as contained in Rabbinical literature, is much fuller and more adequate. Here, as one would expect, the conception of an earthly Messiah is the prevailing, though not the exclusive one; this has been the officially recognized doctrine accepted by Judaism since the end of the

[1] Singer, p. 89, cf. Friedländer, p. 255.
[2] M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. vii.

first century A.D.; and not only so, but it is, generally speaking, a fundamental point of the doctrine that the Messiah, who is yet to come, will be of the seed of David; he will make Israel a free and independent people, and set up his kingdom of peace and prosperity. The great question was how and when this period of Messianic glory would be realized; this was a natural question in post-exilic times and onwards in face of the unfulfilled prophecies of the prophets. The answer "lay in the dualistic conception of two worlds: a present world, corrupt by reason of the evil powers inherent in it; and a future ideal world,—a conception of things due, in part at least, to foreign influences. The logical consequence of this dualistic belief was (1) that God's plan of salvation can only be realized after all the evil powers—the host of Satan and the heathen subject to them, together with the world itself—shall have been annihilated, and (2) that the future world, with all its blessings pre-existing from eternity in heaven, shall then, at the end of time, descend thence and replace the old world, having the perfect, glorious New Jerusalem for its centre. . . . The eschatological drama is enacted not in one era, but in two: the temporary Messianic interim, and the everlasting heavenly bliss—the latter offset by the everlasting torments of hell in store for the wicked. In general tone and colouring the older apocalypse served as a model for the Neo-Hebrew. It shows the same particularism and narrow nationalism that predominate in the later, according to which the kingdom of God means salvation for faithful Israel alone, but for the unrepentant heathen world damnation. . . . In like manner, the gross sensuousness in the detailed description of the joys of the Messianic and supramundane world is quite common in the older apocalyptic. So also is the fact that besides the revelations regarding the end of time, and the occurrences in that period, there are not infrequently other revelations concerning supernatural subjects—for example, heaven, hell and paradise, the mysteries of

the Creation, the course of the universe, angels, and the whole world of spirits, even God Himself—and in these revelations, the phantasy of the older apocalyptic is quite as unrestrained and extravagant as that in the later." [1] It is, in part at all events, due to the belief that the blessings of the ideal Messianic Era pre-existed from eternity in heaven, that the conception of a pre-existent Messiah—a conception of extreme interest from the Christian point of view—finds frequent expression in Talmudic literature. This conception is of a two-fold character; in the first place the Messiah is believed to have existed in Heaven before the world was created; God, it is said, contemplated the Messiah and his works before the Creation of the world, and concealed him under His throne (cf. 1 Pet. 1^{20}); Satan, it is added, asked God what the light was under His throne, and God replied that it was one who would bring him to shame in the future; then, being allowed to see the Messiah, Satan trembled and sank to the ground, crying out: "Truly this is the Messiah who will deliver me and all heathen kings over to hell" (*Pesikta rabbati* 36).[2] So, too, in the *Haggadah*, the name of the Messiah is included among the seven things created before the world was made (*Pesikta* 54^a, *Nedarim* 39^a).[3] Secondly, it is taught in the *Jerusalem Targum* to Mic. 4^8 that the Messiah is hiding on the earth, and that the sins of his people prevent him from coming forth as their leader. According to another tradition, David is the Messiah; then again, it is said that the Messiah is born, but that he has not yet been revealed. These, and other similar beliefs, point to the conception of a Messiah pre-existent on earth, and the idea is strikingly illustrated by what we read in the Gospels (Matt. $17^{10,11}$): *Why then say the Scribes that Elijah must first come? And he answered and said, Elijah indeed cometh and shall restore*

[1] *JE*, i, 675.
[2] *JE*, viii, 511. [3] *RE*, i, 739 ff.

all things . . . cf. Mark 6^{15}; 8^{28}; 9^{11}; Luke $9^{8, 19}$. These things point to a conception of the Messiah as one who was super-human, but it is of especial interest to find that the divine-human character is directly taught in the *Talmud;* Rabbi Akiba, in commenting on Dan. 7^{9} (*I beheld till thrones were placed* [R.V. marg. "cast down"] *and one that was ancient of days did sit*), he explains the plural ("thrones") as meaning that one was for God and another for the Son of David, i.e. the Messiah, making him equal with God (*Chagigah* 14^{a}), see John 5^{18}, Phil. 2^{6}. In *Bereshith rabbah* c. 85, and elsewhere, the Messiah is spoken of as the *Go'el*, "Redeemer"; he is called in this passage *Go'el 'acherōn*, the "latter Redeemer," the first being Moses, cf. Luke 1^{68}, 24^{21}; Gal. 3^{13}, 4^{5}; 1 Pet. 1^{18-20}.

It is taught, further, that certain signs will herald the approach of the Messianic Age; as these remind one forcibly of some passages in the Gospels, it will be of interest to indicate them briefly. There is to be a time of the "Woes of the Messiah" immediately preceding the Messianic Age, and a general break-up of the Gentile nations will come about through their fighting against and annihilating one another; all humanity, Israel included, will suffer from the sword, from plague, pestilence and famine; earthquakes and other convulsions of nature will likewise be portents of the Messianic Age; further, home-life, of old time so dear to the Jew, will be broken up, children mocking and maltreating their parents, and members of the same household fighting against each other; truth and faithfulness will be mocked at;[1] with all this cf. Matt. $24^{6\ 31}$, Mark 13^{8}, Luke 18^{8}, 2 Tim. 3^{1-9}.

The Rabbis taught that the world would last six thousand years; of these the first two thousand were described as the period during which the *Torah* did not exist on earth; the second two thousand they dated from the time when Abraham taught the *Torah* in Haran,

[1] *Sanhedrin* 97^{a}.

and it was called the period of the *Torah*, i.e., the time during which the *Torah* held sway ; the last two thousand years were called the " days of the Messiah," because this period was to be inaugurated by the advent of the Messiah ;[1] after this was to come the " Eternal Sabbath " ; the Targum to Eccles. 7^{25} teaches that the Messiah will appear on a Sabbath.

The conditions of the Messiah's appearance are, firstly, repentance and good works. " If all Israel," it is said in *Pesikta* 163^{b}, " were to spend unitedly one whole day in the showing forth of repentance, redemption by the Messiah would come." The second condition, as far as Israel is concerned, of the Messiah's advent is the earnest observance of the Law, especially keeping the Sabbath holy. When the commencement of the third (i.e. the Messianic) period had gone by without the appearance of the Messiah, the Rabbis explained it by showing that the sins of Israel necessitated a postponement.[2]

As to the actual *Messianic Era* itself the Rabbis teach a good deal. Its main characteristics, as far as the Jews are concerned, may be briefly summed up under three heads : The Messiah will inaugurate for his people a time of external glory, he will make them the rulers of the world, and he will also bring them to spiritual perfection. This is to be the final fulfilment of prophecy, the accomplishment of God's promises (cf. 2 Cor. 1^{20}) ; " All the prophets prophesied only concerning the days of the Messiah " (*Shabbath* 63^{a}). As the height of spiritual perfection was conceived of as consisting in the full observance of the *Torah*, it was taught that the Messiah himself when he comes will set the supreme example in this (*Targ.* to Isa. 9^{5}), and that in consequence the true observers of the *Torah* will, in the days of the Messiah, number a great

[1] *Sanhedrin* 97^{a}; the " days of the Messiah " are preliminary to and lead into the " Age to come " (*Olâm ha-ba*), which includes Eternity, cf. Luke 18^{30}.

[2] *Yoma* 9^{b}.

multitude (*Ibid.* to Isa. 9^6). In this way the Messiah will in his days make peace between God and Israel, and of that peace there will be no end, so that the blessing of God will be poured out upon His people to the full. In this glorious Messianic kingdom not only the dispersed members of the nation, but also all those who have died will participate; these will come forth from their graves,[1] to take their share in the happiness and the glories of that age of bliss.

[1] Cf. Matt. 27^{52}.

The Search for Leaven

(See p. 380)

To face p. 210

CHAPTER XI.

Eschatology.[1]

The Kingdom of God—The Eschatological Drama ; World-Epochs ; The War of Gog and Magog ; The Fate of the Gentiles ; The Purification of the Land ; The Ingathering of Israel ; The Rebuilding of Jerusalem ; The Future Life ; Gehenna ; Paradise.

Jewish eschatology, or the doctrine of the "last things," is a subject of such vast dimensions, that within the limits of a single chapter it will obviously be impossible to do more than indicate some of its more salient aspects.

By the New Testament Period Judaism was in possession of most, if not all, of its eschatological ideas. These were developed during the two eventful centuries that immediately preceded the rise of Christianity. It was these centuries which saw the rise of the *Apocalyptic movement* with its vast eschatological developments, that were essentially bound up with the doctrine of a future life, and the belief in a judgment after death, with rewards and punishments.

It is important to remember that the Apocalyptic Literature as a whole, as has already been pointed out,[2] is a *popular literature ;* that is to say, it reflects the thoughts of religious circles which were outside the recognized Rabbinical schools ; and it embodies religious ideas which in many points sharply conflicted with the strict scholastic orthodoxy of the Pharisees. The main energies of the latter were devoted to the development of the "oral tradition," in order to build a hedge around the Law, and fix a sharp line of demarcation between Israel and the outside world. The Apocalyptists, on the other hand, though loyal to the Law, did not make it their exclusive pre-occupation. They were much more deeply interested in "transcendental Messianism," and in speculative schemes regarding the "end" of the age, and all

[1] Cf. the articles *Eschatology* in *EB* and in *JE ;* also Bousset, 2nd ed., pp. 245–277 ; 333–346, to all of which this chapter is largely indebted.

[2] Cf. part I, ch. iii.

that such involved. On the other hand, orthodox Rabbinic Judaism—which represents the triumph of the Pharisaic party within the ranks of Judaism—has practically banned the entire apocalyptic literature. Nevertheless, apocalyptic teaching profoundly influenced orthodox Judaism in some respects. The doctrine of a future life, e.g., and of the resurrection became integral parts of Jewish belief.

"Jewish eschatology," it has been said, "deals primarily and principally with the final destiny of the Jewish nation and the world in general, and only secondarily with the future of the individual; the main concern of Hebrew legislator, prophet, and apocalyptic writer being Israel as the people of God, and the victory of His truth and justice on earth." [1] These points can be conveniently illustrated in what follows under separate headings.

I. The Kingdom of God.

It is characteristic of Judaism in all its manifestations that it looks to the *future* for the full realization of its hopes and religious yearnings. And all that it can hope for from the future is summarily included under the term "Kingdom"—or rather "rule (or sovereignty)—of God." This sovereignty of God, visibly manifested and realized, was "the prophetic goal of human history."

As Dalman [2] and others have shown, the expressions rendered "Kingdom of Heaven" (ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, peculiar to the First Gospel in the New Testament) or "Kingdom of God" (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) and their Hebrew equivalents (*malkûth shāmayim*, etc.) are more correctly rendered as "Sovereignty of God." "Heaven" in the former is a substitute for the divine name.

At the outset it is important to note the distinction, fundamentally present (though later confused) in Jewish theology, between the idea of the "Kingdom of Heaven" over which God reigns, and that of the Kingdom of Israel ruled over by the Messiah.

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[1] Dr. Kohler in *JE*, v, 209.
[2] *Words*, p. 91 *f.*

The Jewish conception of the "sovereignty of God" was not primarily political. Its main thought was the hope that idolatry would be extirpated, and the one God acknowledged throughout all the world, and the world itself "perfected" under the direct "rule of the Almighty." This reaches sublime expression in the great *Alenu* prayer (Singer, pp. 76–77), the closing paragraph of which runs as follows: [1]

> We therefore hope in Thee, O Lord our God, that we may speedily behold the glory of Thy might, when Thou wilt remove the abominations from the earth, and the idols will be utterly cut off, when the world will be perfected under the Sovereignty (Kingdom) of the Almighty, and all the children of flesh will call upon Thy name, when Thou wilt turn unto Thyself all the wicked of the earth. Let all the inhabitants of the world perceive and know that unto Thee every knee must bow, every tongue must swear. Before Thee, O Lord our God, let them bow and fall; and unto Thy glorious name let them give honour; let them all accept the yoke of thy Sovereignty, and do Thou reign over them speedily and for ever and ever. For the sovereignty is Thine, and to all Eternity Thou wilt reign in glory; as it is written in Thy Law: *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.* And it is said: *And the Lord shall be Sovereign over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be One, and His Name one.*
>
> Cf. also the following which forms part of the *Amidah*-prayer for the New Year Services (*Rosh ha-shānāh*):—
>
> Now, therefore, O Lord our God, impose Thine awe upon all Thy works, and Thy dread upon all that Thou hast created, that all works may fear Thee and all creatures prostrate themselves before Thee; that they may all form a single band to do Thy will with a perfect heart, even as we know, O Lord our God, that dominion is Thine, strength is in Thine hand, and might in Thy right hand, and that Thy name is to be feared above all that Thou hast created (Singer, p. 239).

But though in its essence universal, the actual recognition of God's sovereignty in the world was inextricably bound up with the history and fortunes of the chosen people. God's kingship was first recognized

[1] This prayer is usually ascribed to Rab (c. 240 A.D.); but may be much older (possibly pre-Christian) see *JE*, s.v. *Alenu* I, 336

and made known on the earth by Abraham. "Before our father Abraham came into the world, God was, as it were, only the king of heaven; but when Abraham came, He made him to be king over heaven and earth." [1] Afterwards this secured a firmer basis when a whole nation—Israel at the Red Sea and at Sinai—yielded willing allegiance to God as King. The nation soon, it is true, became rebellious; but the ideal relationship remained, and was maintained by the righteous remnant throughout all the generations.

The recognition of God's sovereignty was conceived by the Teachers of the Law, as we should expect, to be bound up essentially with the conscious acceptance of the Torah, as being the supreme revelation of God's will. According to Simon ben Lakish (c. 260 A.D.) the proselyte who adopts the Law thereby "takes upon himself the sovereignty of heaven." [2] To "take upon oneself the yoke of the sovereignty (or kingdom) of Heaven" is a regular Rabbinical phrase in this connexion. The daily recitation of the *Shema'* by the Israelite is even spoken of as such an act of allegiance continually repeated. Thus Gamaliel II (c. 110 A.D.) when on the evening of his marriage an attempt was made to persuade him to regard himself as exempt (being a bridegroom) from the duty of reading the *Shema'*, replied: "I yield not to you in that—to lay aside even for one hour the sovereignty of God." [3]

The "sovereignty of God," though essentially eternal, is thus as yet only imperfectly realized in Israel. Its full glory has not yet been made manifest. This can only take place when Israel has been freed from foreign domination, and when the nations—the Gentile world—shall have yielded allegiance to God.

The former of these aspirations receives expression

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[1] *Sifre*, Deut. 113 (ed. Fried. 134[b]), cited in Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[2] Cf. Dalman, *ibid.* [3] *Ber.* ii, 5 (cited *ibid*).

in the eleventh petition of the "Eighteen Blessings" (the *Amidah*-prayer), which runs as follows :—

> Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning ; remove from us grief and suffering ; reign Thou over us, O Lord, Thou alone, in loving kindness and tender mercy, and justify us in judgment. Blessed art Thou, O Lord the King, who lovest righteousness and judgment (Singer, p. 48).

The (added) twelfth Petition contains a prayer for the removal of "the kingdom of violence" (i.e., the Roman government) as a necessary preliminary to the establishment of the Divine sovereignty. That the latter may be set up visibly on the earth is, as we have seen, the subject of more than one prayer. Perhaps the most significant expression of this aspiration is to be seen in the *Kaddish* prayer, which is one of the most popular and most frequently repeated in the Jewish Liturgy. According to this the consummation of religion will only be reached when God's name is sanctified throughout the world. The petition regarding the divine sovereignty runs thus :

> And may He (God) set up His sovereignty in your lifetime, and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole House of Israel, even speedily and soon.

The hopes of the people for the realization of the ideal future were set upon the appearing of the Messiah, who would restore the Kingdom of Israel and extend it over the whole earth. Before this can be accomplished, however, a last great battle must be fought against the heathen powers who are hostile to the establishment of the kingdom. When the Messianic Age dawns it will usher in a period of great felicity.

These hopes were shared by some of the Rabbis, but are reflected most fully in the apocalyptic writings. The Rabbinical Teachers as a whole were more deeply concerned with God's rule as a present reality. They interested themselves in the present rather than in the future. Whereas the apocalyptic writers loved to forget

the grey realities of the current age in the glories of the future era, which were painted in great detail and in gorgeous colours, the sober teacher of the law expended his energies on reducing the precepts of the *Torah* to practice, and extending the range of its practical application. It would almost seem as if the Rabbinical Teachers in some cases conceived the ideal future as the result of a gradual process which is bound up with the study of the Law. In the one case an evolutionary, in the other a catastrophic conception of the future prevailed.

It has been said that the Rabbinical conception of the Kingdom of God was not primarily a political one. Any form of government that was compatible with the divine sovereignty would have been regarded by them as a proper one. But they were profoundly dissatisfied with all forms of government (Jewish as well as heathen) such as, on the whole, had hitherto been experienced; and they looked to the future for something better.[1]

II. The Eschatological Drama.

It was to the apocalyptists that the development of the drama of the last things—with all its wealth of detail and supernatural colouring—was primarily due. The apocalyptic writers were profound and eager students of the prophetic writings, and adapted many details in their eschatological scheme to data derived from the prophetic literature. Their supreme interest was, as has already been said, in the great final consummation, and they framed a vast and in many respects sublime system, embodying a philosophy of history, and embracing past, present and future. It was, of course, on the future that their hopes and their interests were mainly fixed. In the Talmud they are reproached as "calculators of the [Messianic] ends" (*mechashebê kētsîm : Sanh.* 97ᵇ)—i.e.,

[1] They were recruited mainly, it would seem, from the ranks of the *Chasidim* or "pious."

men who devoted and committed themselves to calculations regarding the more or less immediate future which led to mistakes and disappointments among the people.

(*a*) *World-Epochs.*

Various schemes by which the history of the world was divided according to certain fixed periods—weeks or millenniums—were framed, and this is a common feature of apocalyptic writings. Thus the author of the third section of the Book of Enoch (chaps. 91-105) divides human history into ten weeks. Seven of these had already passed; the eighth was to be one of universal righteousness, when the Saints would reign on the earth. The ninth week was to open with the great Judgment: The former heaven and earth were to pass away, and a new heaven, peopled by the righteous dead (after their resurrection) was to succeed. Another scheme divided the history into a world-week of seven millenniums, corresponding with the week of Creation (a day = a thousand years Ps. 90^4; 2 Peter 3^8). According to this view the present world of suffering and toil (*'olam ha-zeh* = "this world") is to be succeeded by a Sabbatical Millennium, the "World to come" (*'olam ha-ba*). The six thousand years, again, which covered the entire history of the present world, were divided into three periods of two thousand years each; the first without the Law, the next under the Law, and the last a period of struggle and catastrophe preparatory to the rule of the Messiah.

All the apocalyptic writings agree in depicting the Messianic Age as being preceded by a time of "travail," called the "birth-pangs," or sufferings of the Messiah (*Cheble ha-Meshiach* or *Cheblo shel Mashiach, Pesikta rabbati* 21, 34, *Shabbath* 118^a; cf. Matt 24^8, Mark 13^9: *All these things are the beginning of travail*). This idea was apparently deduced by the apocalyptic writers from certain passages in the Prophets (Hos. 13^{13} ff.; Joel 2^{10} ff.; Mic. 7^{1-6}; Zech. 14^6 ff.; Dan. 12^1), but the use made of this material is due to the particular

view of the world's history held by the apocalyptists.[1] Many descriptions of these Messianic woes are given, e.g., Book of Jubilees 20^{11-25}; Enoch 1 ff.; 99^{4} ff., 2 Esdras 5, 6. Cf. Matt. 24^{6-29}; Rev. 6–9, and in the Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 96^{b}–97^{a}. In the Midrash on the Psalms (on Ps. 2^{9}) it is said: "A third part of all the world's woes will come in the generation of the Messiah." The evil portents include visions of blood and of warfare in the sky (cf. Luke, 21^{20} ff., esp. verse 25: *And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows . . . the powers of the heaven shall be shaken*). "The sword, famine, earthquake, and fire" are particularly mentioned (cf. Apoc. of Baruch $28^{2,3}$); but, above all, moral declension and universal corruption are anticipated. In the "last days" false prophets, especially pseudo-Messiahs will appear, the anti-Christ will be manifested, and so on.

(*b*) *The War of Gog and Magog.*

One of the most important moments in the eschatological drama is assigned to the great final conflict with the forces of the heathen nations ranged under Gog and Magog (cf. Ezek. 38^{39}). In this connexion the great heathen world-powers were more especially thought of, and in the time of the Maccabees, of course, the representative heathen oppressive power was the Syrian-Greek empire of Antiochus Epiphanes; but this soon disappeared, and its place was later taken by Rome. In Jewish literature Rome is usually symbolized by Edom; the struggle of Jacob and Esau in the womb represents the conflict between Israel and Rome (cf. 2 (4) Esdras,

[1] The meaning assigned to the expression "birth-pangs of the Messiah" is, perhaps, a later figurative adaptation of what was in the first place understood literally. It may be a survival of the myth wherein the birth of the Messiah of the "woman" was described. Cf. Rev. 12^{1}f., and see Gressman, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), p. 284.

6^{8-10}, a very interesting passage containing a cryptic reference to Rome, cf. also 12^{11}). In New Testament times Messianic prophecy was directed against Rome (cf. Rev. 13, 17, 18, 19^{17} ff., esp. the number of the Beast 666 = probably a cryptogram for Nero Cæsar, 13^{18}).[1] Here Gog and Magog reappear in the Johannine Apocalypse (cf. Rev. 20^{7-10}, see also 16^{14}). The annihilation of the heathen nations is usually represented as being effected either by war or by penal judgment; the pious are not often pictured as waging the war themselves (cf., however, Enoch 90^{29}); in most cases supernatural powers are employed, either the archangel Michael, Israel's patron (Dan. 12^{1}, Rev. 14^{14}), or, more frequently, God Himself (Enoch 62^{12}). During this time the righteous people are hidden away, an idea that was already present, apparently, in the eschatological passage Is. 26^{20} (*Come my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself for a little moment until the indignation be over-past;* Zech. 14^{2} ff.; the same idea can be seen in the flight of the righteous in Mark 13^{14-20}, Rev. 12^{13} ff.).

In the apocalyptic conception the Kingdom of God, so far as it is localized, is apparently confined to the Holy Land (cf. Job. 13^{6-18}; 14^{5-8}; Zech. 14^{6-11} and even Matt. 19^{28}: *In the regeneration ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel*). At this point the interesting question arises, what, in the apocalyptic conception, is to be the fate of the nations at the end? The answer is, the apocalyptic writers are not primarily interested in this aspect of the matter, as a rule. For them it is sufficient

[1] See, however, the elaborate discussion of this point in Gunkel *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 282–379, who argues strongly that 666 is a cryptogram for *Tehom Kadmoniyyah* ("the Primeval Ocean"). Possibly both explanations are right, the earlier mythological notion being adopted by the writer of the Apocalypse in a specially anti-Roman sense. The primeval ocean which was the ancient embodiment of ruthless and destructive power would be thus identified with its latest Roman exemplar in the persons of Nero Cæsar.

that the evil and oppressive world-powers are destroyed, and room is made for the righteous Israelitish community; the *conversion* of the heathen is seldom mentioned. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule; thus, in Tob. 14^{6} we read, *And all the nations shall turn to fear the Lord God truly, and shall bury their idols;* again in Enoch 10^{21}, "And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer me adoration and praise, and all will worship me"; further in Enoch 48^{4-5}, "He shall be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall, and he will be the Light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled in heart. All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before Him, and will bless and laud and celebrate with song the Lord of the spirits," cf. Luke 2^{32}. Rabbinical Judaism was, on the whole, less favourable; thus we read in the Talmud, *Abodah Zarah* 3^{b}, "In the Messianic time no proselytes will be received."[1] It is interesting to notice in this connexion that the Sibylline Oracles, which represent the best side of the Hellenistic spirit, display a real interest in the Conversion of the Gentiles; the heathen are exhorted to repent; the same spirit is displayed as in the passage of the book of Enoch (48^{4-5}) quoted above, cf. also 2 (4) Esdras 13^{26-29}; but, as a rule, where the annihilation of the heathen is not contemplated, they are regarded as destined to become tribute-bearing vassals of the Israelitish Empire. Their kings are to bring tributes and gifts to Jerusalem, cf. Is. 60^{1}; Matt. 2; according to Zech. 14^{16} ff. all nations will come yearly to the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. 2 (4) Esdras 13^{3}; Rev. 21 f.,[24] 22^{2}).

On the whole, the feeling of the Apocalyptic writers seems to have been that some non-Israelitish nations would survive in the Messianic period. Only Israel's enemies would be annihilated, cf. Apocalypse of Baruch 72^{4}:

[1] In justice to the Rabbis, however, it should be remembered that passages breathing a loftier spirit have been admitted into the Liturgy; see above, section i of this chapter.

"Every nation that knows not Israel and has not oppressed the race of Jacob shall be spared" (for a Christian application of this idea cf. Matth. 25^{31-46}). Jochanan b. Zakkai in a dispute regarding Prov. 14^{34} maintained that in the case of the heathen kindness and compassion possessed the same significance as the sin-offering for Israel (*Pesikta* 12^{b}; *Baba bathra* 10^{b}).

(*c*) *The Ingathering of Israel.*

Stress is laid on the purity of the land which will characterize the Messianic period[1]. This will be secured by, among other means, the removal of all heathen and strangers from it. The heathen may make pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Jerusalem; but only the born Israelite is to *dwell* in the land. Cf. *Psalms of Solomon* 17^{31}: "And the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more" (cf. Joel 3^{17}; Bk. of Jubilees 23^{30}, 50^{5}). In intimate connexion with this idea is the hope of the ingathering of Israelites, scattered throughout the world. This already comes to view in Old Testament Prophecy (cf. Is. 11^{11-16}, 27^{12}, 35^{8} f.; Micah 7^{12}; Ezek. 39^{27}; Zech. 10^{6-11}). The passage Is. 27 [13] ("And it shall come to pass in that day that a great trumpet shall be blown; and they shall come which were lost in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt; and they shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem") seems to have been especially influential in the subsequent period. Some passages in Deutero-Isaiah are also noteworthy in this connexion, esp. 49^{22}, $60^{4, 9}$, and 66^{20}, where it is anticipated that the heathen will themselves escort the exiles back. Thus the ingathering of the dispersed Israelites became a regular and permanent feature of the picture of the Messianic future. It comes to expression in the apocryphal books (cf. Tobit 13^{13}, 14^{5}; Ecclus. 36^{11}). Among the pseudepigraphic books special mention

[1] Sin will be no more, for "the Lord will shake the land of Israel and cleanse it from all impurity" (*Pirke R. Ebezer* xxxiv, 21, cited in *JE*, v, 215).

may here be made of the 11th and 17th of the Psalms of Solomon. A striking feature in the representation is the employment of the trumpet-blast as a means for gathering the exiles together. Cf. the passage cited above, Is. 27^{13}. This also appears in the Psalter of Solomon, and in the orthodox Jewish Liturgy in the 10th of the "Eighteen Blessings" which runs as follows:—

> Sound the great horn for our freedom; lift up the ensign to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of the earth (Singer p. 48).

With this should be compared Matt. 24^{31}: "Then shall He send forth His angels *with a great sound of a trumpet.*" It should be added that in the eschatological passages the task of gathering together the elect is sometimes assigned to the Messiah, sometimes to Elijah.

(d) *The rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple and the felicity of the Messianic Age.*

One great hope associated with the Messianic Age was that Jerusalem and the Temple would be rebuilt. Such prophecies as Ezek. 40-44, and 47, Is. 54^{11} f., 60^{10} f., which suggest the prospect of a new and glorious city and a restored Temple-worship, strongly fostered such hopes. In Haggai 2^{7-9} the consciousness that the second Temple (before its restoration by Herod) compared unfavourably with the first is already apparent (cf. also Tobit 14^{5}). It was expected that a new and glorious Jerusalem would be built in the Messianic age, of sapphires, gold, and precious stones, etc. (cf. Tobit 13^{15} f., 14^{4}; Rev. 21^{9-21}). This is identical with the "new" or "upper" Jerusalem ("the Jerusalem that is above"), which is referred to in Gal. 4^{26}, Heb. 12^{22}, which had been seen in vision by Adam, Abraham and Moses (Apocalypse of Baruch 4^{26}), and which will be made manifest in all its glory by the Messiah (cf. 2 (4) Esdras 7^{26}; Apocalypse of Baruch 32^{4}). In later times, after the complete destruction of both city and Temple this hope came to even more vivid expression. The restoration of

the Holy City, and especially of the Temple-worship, long continued to be an object of pious hopes and prayers. These have secured a permanent place in the Liturgy, especially in the 14th and 17th Petitions of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* (Singer p. 49 f).

> And to Jerusalem, Thy city, return in mercy, and dwell therein as Thou hast spoken ; rebuild it soon in our days as an everlasting building, and speedily set up therein the throne of David.
>
> And again :
>
> Accept, O Lord our God, Thy people Israel and their prayer ; restore the service to the oracle of Thy House, and receive in love and favour both the fire-offerings of Israel and their prayer ; and may the service of Thy people Israel be ever acceptable unto Thee. And let our eyes behold Thy return in mercy to Zion.

According to *Lev. Rabbah* ix, the Messiah will himself re-erect the Temple.

The felicity of the Messianic Age, is painted in gorgeous colours in the Apocalyptic writings (cf. Zech. 14 ; Bk. of Enoch, chaps. 5, 10, 90 ; Book of Jubilees 23 ; Apocalypse of Baruch, chaps. 27–29, 39–40, 72–73 ; Rev. 20^{4-6}). It will be a time of universal peace, which will include even the animal creation. Sorrow and tribulation will be at an end, and material plenty will abound. Both earth and man will be blessed with wondrous fertility and vigour (cf. esp. Enoch 10^{17-19}). It will also be a time of spiritual blessing. Thus, according to *Numbers rabbah* xv, Israel's sons and daughters will then prophesy. God's immediate presence among His people will be experienced as an intimate reality (Jubilees 1^{28} ; cf. 1^{17}, 1^{24} f.). In the midrash on the Psalms (*Midr. Tehillim* xxi) the noble hope is expressed that the Messiah will himself teach the nations the Noachian laws of humanity and make all men disciples of the Lord.

In official circles, no doubt was entertained regarding the position of the Law in the Messianic period. It was assumed that its requirements—in particular the sacrificial and priestly laws—would be strictly observed. But

sometimes another and remarkable view is met with, viz. that a new Law would be proclaimed by the Messiah. "Ye shall receive a new Law from the Elect One of the righteous," runs the Targum to Isa. 12^3. A Midrashic passage commenting on Ecclesiastes 11^8 ("All is vanity") declares: "The Law which man learns in this world is nothing in comparison with the Law of the Messiah" (*Midr. Kohel.* on 11^8).

(*e*) *The Future Life.*

An integral part of the Messianic hope was the doctrine of a resurrection (cf. Isa. 24^{19}, Dan. 12^2). This first assumed definite form, apparently, under the impulse of the idea that those who had suffered martyrdom for the Law were worthy to share in the future glories of Israel. In the crudest form of the doctrine the resurrection was confined to the Holy Land—those buried elsewhere would have to burrow through the ground to Palestine—and to Israelites. And the trumpet-blast which was to be the signal for the ingathering of the exiles would also rouse the sleeping dead (cf. *Ber.* 15^b; 2 (4) Esdras 4^{23} f.; 1 Cor. 15^{52}; 1 Thess. 4^{16}). According to the older view the Kingdom was to follow the resurrection and judgment; but the later and more widely held one was that a temporary Messianic Kingdom would be established on the earth which would be followed by the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. The Messiah himself was to judge the nations, who, together with their guardian-angels and stars, are destined to be cast into Gehenna. "The end of the judgment of the heathen is the establishment of the kingdom of God. . . . The Messiah will cast Satan into Gehenna, and death and sorrow flee for ever." [1]

In later times belief in a universal Resurrection became prevalent. Thus R. Eliezer ha- Ḳappar says: Those who are born are destined to die; and the dead to live again" (*Pirke Aboth* iv, 31): and the belief has been

[1] *JE*, v, 215.

embodied in the "Thirteen Principles of the Faith" known as the "Creed of Maimonides." [1]

According to 2 (4) Esdras 7^{26-36} the 400 years of the Messiah's reign will be closed by his death; after an interval of universal death, the earth will give up its dead, and God will exercise judgment, and the evil doers will be consigned to the pit of hell, while the righteous will enter paradise which is on the opposite side. All evil doers incur everlasting punishment, but the fate of the righteous among the heathen was a matter of dispute. As has already been pointed out the Resurrection and the Judgment, according to the later and more prevalent view, were conceived as *closing* the Messianic period. This was to be followed by a new heaven and a new earth. In Jewish eschatology the Resurrection was combined with the Last Judgment: "God summons the soul from heaven and couples it again on earth with the body to bring man to judgment" (*Sanh.* 91^b) [2]. On "the day of the Great Judgment" angels as well as men will be judged, and the books opened, containing the records of men's deeds, for life or for death.[3]

A doctrine regarding an intermediate state was also developed. It became necessary to define more clearly the state and condition of souls between Death and Resurrection. The Jews of course, inherited the belief that the soul after death, descends to Sheol, the place of departed spirits. But Sheol originally was thought of merely as a land of shadows, where all distinctions ceased to exist. Such a view could not long satisfy the yearnings of individual piety, and it became necessary to recognize distinctions in Sheol. Perhaps in Ps. 16^{10} there is already a hint of some partition. In the Apocalyptic books this is

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[1] Singer p. 89 f. It forms the 13th clause.

[2] Cited in *JE*, *ibid.* Cf. the first of the parables quoted in ch. v. § 3 above.

[3] Cf. what is said on the subject of the New Year regarded as the Day of Judgment, chap. xx, §1.

clearly defined. In the Book of Enoch, e.g., there is a fourfold division; three of these divisions are gloomy and one bright. A purgatory of fire was even contemplated.

In the eschatological development which took place during the first century B.C. Paradise came to be regarded as the abode of the righteous and elect in the intermediate state; hence they pass to the Messianic kingdom and after the final judgment to heaven. The views prevailing with regard to Sheol at this period were varying and inconsistent. Sometimes it is looked upon as the intermediate abode of the departed; sometimes it is identified with Hell or Gehenna. The latter was regarded as a place of punishment—originally as a place of torment for Jewish apostates, whose sufferings "were to form an *ever-present* spectacle to the righteous" (Charles); afterwards it came to be looked upon as a place of spiritual punishment.

In Rabbinic as well as apocalyptic literature the bliss of the righteous in the Garden of Eden (*Gan Eden*), the Heavenly Paradise, is painted in brilliant colours (cf. *Pes.* 54[a]: and esp. the Slavonic Enoch). According to 2 (4) Esdras 6 it was created at the beginning, and will be revealed suddenly on the Judgment Day. Many details are given in Rabbinical Literature of the heavenly food and the "banquet of the leviathan" which the righteous are destined to enjoy (cf. Job. 4^{15}).[1] These materialistic features were later spiritualized.

On all these points the orthodox Judaism of the post-Talmudic period is very vague and indefinite. Even the doctrine of a bodily resurrection has not maintained its hold over the philosophers of Judaism, the old Alexandrine view of a blessed and purely spiritual immortality being preferred. But the idea of the soul's persistence after death has always been firmly held.[2]

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[1] Cf. Jer., Targum to Num. 11^{26}. Enoch 60^{7} f.

[2] Cf., on these points I. Abrahams, *Judaism* (1907) chap. vii (Eschatology).

Judaism in fact concerns itself much more actively with the living than the dead. This can be seen clearly in the emphasis that is laid on the idea of judgment as it concerns the living (cf. what is said regarding the New Year celebration and Day of Atonement in ch. XX): the same remark applies also to the customs connected with the commemoration of the dead (*ibid.*). The restrained attitude of Jewish piety on these points comes out clearly in the two following pieces from the Prayer-Book with which this chapter must close. The first is an ancient and beautiful prayer recited in the morning (originally in private):

> O my God, the soul which Thou gavest me is pure; Thou didst create it, Thou didst form it, Thou didst breathe it into me; Thou preservest it within me; and Thou wilt take it from me, but wilt restore it unto me hereafter. So long as the soul is within me, I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord my God, and God of my fathers, sovereign of all works, Lord of all souls! Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest souls to dead bodies (cf. Singer, p. 5).

The following forms the second petition of the great *Amidah*-Prayer (the so-called "Eighteen Blessings"), which is repeated three times daily:[1]

> Thou, O Lord, art mighty for ever, Thou quickenest the dead, Thou art mighty to save.
>
> Thou sustainest the living with loving-kindness, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supportest the falling, healest the sick, loosest the bound, and keepest Thy faith to them that sleep in the dust.
>
> Who is like unto Thee, Lord of mighty acts, and who resembleth Thee, O King Who killest and quickenest, and causest salvation to spring forth? Yea, faithful art Thou to quicken the dead (Singer, p. 44).

Additional Note.

The following summary[2] of the three main views regarding the life after death may be found convenient.

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[1] This clause is also repeated in the funeral service.

[2] Cf. an essay by Prof. J. T. Marshall on "Some Jewish Religious Beliefs in the Time of Christ," in a volume of Theological Lectures delivered at Manchester University (ed. by Prof. Peake).

1. The Sadducean (conservative) view was that at death the souls of men enter on an eternal sleep, from which there is no resurrection. This view is found in Baruch, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus and 1 Maccabees.

2. The Alexandrine view (immortality) was that at death men meet with the retribution merited in this life. The righteous are beatified, while the wicked receive tribulation and anguish. This is final for each class. There is no resurrection. This view is represented in Wisdom, 4 Maccabees, and Philo.

3. The Pharisaic view, and the one popular in Palestine in the time of Christ, was that the souls of man enter at death on a state of happiness or misery in Hades, from which there is for both a resurrection. This view is found in the Book of Enoch, 2 Maccabees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, 2 (4) Esdras, and the Psalter of Solomon.

CHAPTER XII.

The Jewish Doctrine of Sin.

The Comprehensive Character of the Subject—The Teaching of the Old Testament—Perplexing Character of the Teaching in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha—Rabbinical Teaching—The Doctrine of the *Jetser hara'*—The Doctrine of *Zecuth*—Fundamental Difference between Jewish and Christian Teaching—Modern Jewish Teaching on the Subject.

[Literature:—Weber pp. 259–334; Montefiore in *JQR*, xvi (Jan. 1904), pp. 209–257, "Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance"; Porter, *The Jecer Hara', a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin* (1901); Bousset, pp. 277–290, 351–374, 391–404; Box, *The Spiritual Value and Teaching of the Jewish Prayer Book* (Longmans), pp. 14, 36ff.; and Dalman's *Christianity and Judaism* (Eng. transl.) pp. 53ff.]

In dealing with a subject of such vastness as this we can do little more than point out some of its main facts and leading conceptions. It is, however, necessary to insist upon the fact that the *Christian* doctrine of Sin cannot be adequately understood or taught without a study of the Jewish doctrine; the significance of the *Christian* teaching can only be apprehended when its contrast to the Jewish is realized. It is a subject which is so closely connected with those of Forgiveness, Atonement, Reconciliation, Justification, the efficacy of Works, Grace, and Free-will, that for practical purposes it will be best to deal with all these in their relationship with the general subject of this chapter.

I. The Teaching of the Old Testament.

It will be clear to every one that the Jewish doctrine of Sin is based upon the earlier teaching of the Old Testament, and more especially upon that of the *Law*, i.e. the Pentateuch; we must therefore start by enumerating some of the more important aspects of the Old Testament conceptions of Sin.

For a proper understanding of the Old Testament teaching on Sin it is indispensable that we should, for the time being, divest our minds of what we mean by Sin *to-day*. This is by no means easy, yet the effort must be made if any real insight into the history and essence of the subject is to be gained.

We shall be assisted in this, to some extent, if we seek an answer to the question: *Why were sacrifices offered?* —Now, what *in the first instance* lies at the bottom of the whole conception of sacrifice in the Old Testament is the offering of a gift to God. When a man comes into the presence of Jehovah he must bring Him a present: *None shall appear before Me empty* (Exod. 23^{15}), is a precept which is enjoined throughout all the ages of Israelite history. But why should God require gifts? Firstly, because He demanded man's homage. Just as a subject would offer a gift to a King in token of the honour in which he was held, and the King accepted what he regarded as his due, so (it was taught) men must bring their offerings to God as an act of homage due to Him; e.g., the Shew-Bread [1] (Exod. 25^{30}).

Secondly, God demanded sacrifices as a condition of His favour towards men. Just as a subject who brought a present to the King might expect the King's goodwill in return, so (it was taught) God's favour was to be procured by means of sacrifice; see, for example, the instructive passage Numbers $28^{1, 2}$: *And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, Command the children of Israel, and say unto them, My oblation, my food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Me, shall ye observe to offer unto Me in their due season.*

Thirdly, God demanded sacrifices because they averted His wrath when men had offended Him. Just as a subject who had incurred the King's displeasure might ward

[1] The technical name "Bread of the Presence" is very suggestive.

off punishment by bringing the King a present,[1] so (it was taught) God's wrath could be appeased when men had offended Him, and He would forgive them, if due sacrifice were offered, see, for example, Lev. 4^{25}: *And all the fat thereof shall he burn upon the altar . . . and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin, and he shall be forgiven*, see also verses 31, 35; $5^{10, 13}$, etc., etc.. Perhaps one of the most instructive examples is that contained in 2 Samuel 14^{18-25}, see especially the last verse: *And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.*

Sacrifices of homage, sacrifices of propitiation, sacrifices of expiation; these, together with the "sacrificial feast" (*Zebach*) which belongs to a different category altogether, comprise all the varieties of sacrifice in the elaborate sacrificial system of the Old Testament.

At present we are concerned solely with the expiatory sacrifices. Of what kind were the offences against God for which these expiatory sacrifices were required? Very briefly they may be summarized thus:

(1) Unintentional transgressions of certain prohibitions.

(2) Unintentional non-observance of commands laid down in the *Law*.

(3) Impurity of different kinds, such as leprosy, childbirth, various diseases, a Nazarite coming into contact with a dead body, etc.

These and other things of a like nature were sins because they were offences against the holiness of God; if that holiness was *in any way* offended sin resulted. It is for this reason that in early Israel the distinction between what we call intentional and unintentional sin, as far as

[1] It is important to remember that the ideas of kingship in the Old Testament are always such as are connected with *Oriental* kingship.

God is concerned, scarcely exists. What we now designate moral delinquencies were not necessarily sins in the eyes of early Israel; and in almost every case ritual offences were regarded as more grievous than moral ones. If one man sinned against another, it was a legal offence, and the *Law* provided a remedy; but the idea that sin against one's neighbour was also a sin against God was unknown in early Israel. It is only in the prophetical period that a clearer conception of sin arises. Again, in early Israel a conviction of having sinned does not arise in the mind of a man until he sees what he believes to be the punishment for it; that is to say, the manifestation of God's wrath, in the form of sickness or calamity.[1] He may or may not then be able to recall some offence that he has committed; it does not matter whether he can or not, for he is quite certain that he *must* have committed it. The only thing to be done is to offer a sacrifice.

It is not for a moment to be doubted that we have here a part, but only a part, of the truth—see 1 Cor. $11^{29, 30}$—but, at the same time, it is abundantly clear that in the earliest periods of Israelite history sin and sinfulness do not mean what we understand by those terms to-day.

When we turn to the prophetical teaching on Sin we find, indeed, that an immense advance has taken place; the whole relationship between God and man has undergone a great change; the ethical standpoint of the prophets is immeasurably higher than what went before; their conception of God and His holiness is utterly different from the beliefs of earlier times; moral and ritual offences are not merely differentiated, but they are seen in their true proportion. But even so and in spite of this immense advance, the prophetical teaching on Sin and Sinfulness shows that here, too, something very different was meant from what we nowadays understand by the terms. We cannot do better than give, as

[1] See, for example, 2 Sam. 12^{9-11}.

illustrating, for example, the teaching of Isaiah on the subject, the following extract from the pen of one of the most notable authorities on the Old Testament: "The limitation of Isaiah's conception of the divine judgment leads us at once to observe the corresponding limitation in his use of the words sin, sinners, and the like. . . . Sin against Jehovah is such conduct as He must take cognizance of in His quality of King and supreme judge in Israel, not sin in the New Testament sense, but, on the one hand, offences against social righteousness and equity, and on the other hand, idolatry, which is the denial of Jehovah's true Kingship. Hence the prophet has no doctrine of universal sinfulness. The Israelites are divided into two classes—the righteous who have nothing to fear from Jehovah, and the wicked, whom His presence fills with terror (*The sinners in Zion are afraid; trembling hath surprised the godless ones*, Is. 33^{14}). Weal to the righteous, who shall eat the fruits of their doings; woe to the wicked, because the deserving of his hands shall be rendered unto him—is the law of Jehovah's justice (*Say ye of the righteous, that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him*, Is. $3^{10, 11}$)." [1]

At the same time it must be remembered that even here it is not so much the sin of the individual sinner, i.e., sinfulness *per se*, that is condemned, as that sin affects the nation through the individual; in plain language, sin is regarded as evil more on account of its untoward consequences than on account of its inherent badness, for it affects not merely the individual, but more especially the nation, for the wrong-doing of the individual entails evil results for succeeding generations.[2] Jeremiah and Ezekiel, it is true, lay stress on individual responsibility, but "the

[1] Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel* (new ed.), pp. 246, 247.
[2] Cf. Exod. 20^{5}; 34^{7}.

great predominant Old Testament thought of the solidarity of Israel in respect of sin" is one which even Ezekiel retains.

The most advanced conceptions are, as we should expect, to be found in the Psalms and in the Book of Job. The most striking thing in the Psalms about this subject is the way in which Sin is regarded as disturbing the bond that exists between God and man; it is on this account that it is realized that there must be something in Sin *itself*, apart from disagreeable consequences, which is bad and hateful—that is to say, the difference between Sin and Sinfulness is coming to be apprehended.

A still further advance, at all events in one direction, is observable in Job and Ecclesiastes, for here the universality of Sin is frankly taught; e.g., Job 4^{17}: *Shall a man be just before God? Shall a man be pure before His Maker?*—Eccles. 7^{20}: *Surely there is not a righteous man upon earth, that doeth good and sinneth not.*

Finally, sins are obliterated, first, through the offering of sacrifices, and by means of purifications in the literal sense;[1] and secondly, in the later period, by means of repentance and forsaking of sin, though here also sacrifices are, as a rule, required. Now, the important point to notice here is that these are all things in which, according to Old Testament teaching, man can take, indeed, *must* take, the initiative. God grants forgiveness, that is to say, because of certain acts, or because of a certain frame of mind; in other words it lies with man whether his sins shall be remitted or not. One cannot, strictly speaking, say that God, on His own initiative, forgives sins—according to the Old Testament teaching on Sin—because, provided that man does his part, i.e., does what is required for the putting away of his sins, then his sins *are* put away; it is taken for granted that man's act *ipso facto* results in the doing away of his sin. The idea that any power other

[1] See below, the chap. on "The Jewish Doctrine of Baptism."

than human moves man to repentance, or what in Christian phraseology is termed " prevenient grace," is indeed adumbrated here and there, e.g., in some of the Psalms, but cannot be said to be the normal teaching of the Old Testament on the subject. The non-realization of the essence of Sin, which is characteristic of the later Jewish as well as the early Israelite conceptions thereof, preclude the belief that anything more than man's act and will is required.

II. The Teaching of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

The subject of Sin in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings is a somewhat perplexing one. While, in general, one may say that in its main outlines there is substantial agreement with the Old Testament, yet a distinct development of thought is proceeding; this is, of course, more characteristic of some books than of others, the most striking of all, in this respect, being 2 (4) Esdras. But this developing process makes it almost impossible to state definitely what is the doctrine of Sin in these writings; for not only in the different books, but even in one and the same book varying conceptions are to be found; it seems as though in some cases the writers had not come to any definite conclusions themselves, an attitude which is natural enough if one remembers that many of these works reflect the tentative speculations of a new era of religious thought.

Regarding the teaching on the Origin of Sin and the cognate subject of Original Sin we have varying theories, as the following passages will show. Wisdom $2^{23, 24}$: " For God created man for eternity, and made him in His own image. Through envy of the devil [1] did death enter into the world, and they that know him belong to him." In this passage, if anywhere, one might have looked for

[1] Cf. Job 1^{10-12}.

some reference to the idea of original sin, if the germs of such a belief had been in existence. Then again, while in one passage evil is implicitly stated to be of God's creation, in another (in the same book) this thought is explicitly repudiated, viz., in Ecclus. $33^{14, 15}$ we have: "Good stands over against evil, and life over against death; so also does the sinner stand over against the pious. And in the same way—look upon all the works of the Highest, [it is always] two and two, one thing over against another;" while in 15^{11-20} it says: "Say not, 'Through the Lord I fell away,' for what He hateth thou shouldest not do. Say not, 'He Himself caused me to err,' for He hath no need of the sinful man. Every abomination doth the Lord abhor, and they that fear Him love not such. He created man in the beginning, and then left him in the power of his 'counsel.' If thou so willest then keep the commandments, and thou art able to be faithful, if it pleases thee. He hath set before thee fire and water; thou art able to stretch out thy hand to either. Life and death lie before man, and whichever he prefers shall be given to him. For great is the wisdom of the Lord, He is mighty in power, seeing all things, and His eyes are upon them that fear Him, and He knoweth every deed of man. And no man hath He commanded to do unrighteously, and to no man hath He given licence to sin." This is a very important passage, and shows clearly enough that the choice of doing good or evil was solely a matter of man's inclination, though in the previous passage quoted, there are among the "works of the Highest" the antitheses between good and evil. But, on the other hand, there are some passages which are at all events suggestive of the doctrine of original sin; for example, Ecclus. 25^{24}: "Sin originates from a woman, and through her we all die," cf. with this 1 Tim. 1^{14}: *Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression.* Again Wisdom 12^{11}: "For it is a cursed seed from the beginning"; and 2 (4) Esdras

4^{29-31}: "As long as that which is sown is not reaped and the place of the evil seed has not disappeared, the plot wherein the good is sown cannot appear. For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam in the beginning, and how large a quantity of the fruit of sin hath it borne and will it bear until the threshing-floor appear"![1]

The ambiguity is further increased on finding that the possibility of sinlessness in some men is contemplated; this, it is true, is restricted to the patriarchs, but the fact that it should be applied to anybody shows a very inadequate conception of sin; and it is interesting to find this in the short book (*The Prayer of Manasses*) which is otherwise most definite in teaching the need of repentance, and of forgiveness on the part of God: "I bow the knee of my heart, beseeching thee of grace"; "I humbly beseech Thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me"; "For Thou art the God, even the God of them that repent." In direct opposition to the idea that anyone can be without sin is the teaching in 2 (4) Esdras 8^{35}: "For in truth there is no man among them that be born, but he hath dealt wickedly; and among the faithful there is none which hath not done amiss."

Regarding remission of sins we find, again, that the teaching is not uniform; sometimes reconciliation is made by means of sacrifice, i.e., a "sin-offering" (1 Macc. 12^{40-45}); this passage is the more striking in that the offering is for the dead, "he made reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin" (verse 45). In strong constrast to this is, for example, such a passage as Ecclus. $5^{5,6}$: "Concerning propitiation, be not without fear to add sin to sin; and say not, His mercy is great; He will be pacified for the multitude of my sins." Sometimes, as already pointed out, man takes the initiative in turning from sin, and then remission follows; but there are many passages to show that sin is only

[1] Cf. Matt. 3^{12}.

removed through divine forgiveness, such are, for example: Ecclus 2^{11}, "For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy [longsuffering and pitiful],[1] and He forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction." But that there was a danger of regarding sacrifices as sufficient in themselves appears from 7^{9}: "Say not, 'God will look upon the multitude of my oblations, and when I offer to the most high God, He will accept it.'" The most adequate teaching of all, however, is found in such passages as lay stress on both the grace and forgiveness of God, and the repentance of man; short of the Christian teaching of forgiveness through Christ, passages like the following contain the most beautiful conceptions on the subject of the forgiveness of sins that can well be imagined: Ecclus. $17^{25, 26}$: "Turn unto the Lord, and forsake thy sins, make thy prayer before His face, and keep away from causes of offence. Turn again to the most High, and turn away from iniquity; [for He Himself will lead thee out of darkness to the glorious light, and give thee health][2] and hate the abomination (of sin)." 21^{6}: "He that feareth the Lord will repent from his heart." Wisd. 12^{19}: "Thou hast made Thy children to be of good hope that Thou givest repentance for sins."

But it is in the 2 (4) book of Esdras that the most striking teaching on Sin is found; in no non-Christian writing is the true nature of Sin so realized as in this one. Hitherto every sin was regarded as an isolated act, unconnected with anything inherent in human nature, a thing which could be avoided if man so willed, but being committed could easily be obliterated. In this book, however, it is taught that the whole human race is involved in sin, and that the real reason of the universal prevalence of sin is to be sought in the innate badness of the human heart. It was sin that had brought about

[1] The words in brackets should be omitted, according to the best reading.

[2] The best MSS. omit the words in brackets.

death (cf. Rom. 6^{23}, *The wages of sin is death*). So steeped is the world in sin that it seems to the writer of the book that the only remedy lies in a new age ; a fresh start must be made, and a new Era will dawn, then all sorrow will be turned into joy, for sin will be rooted out (see 7^{17} ff.). It is also very striking how the writer, in spite of his vehement denunciations of sin, shows his pity and sympathy for the sinful ; he reckons both his nation and himself among them, but with his sense of sin there is blended a deep repentance, and an unshakable belief in God's mercy.

The book is most striking in its treatment of the subject of Sin, and in spite of its strong Jewish colouring, and in some places anti-Christian polemic, it is difficult not to believe that in spite of himself the writer was influenced by Christian teaching.[1]

For the most part the pseudepigraphic writings reflect much the same conceptions concerning Sin as are found in the Apocrypha. Like some part of the apocryphal teaching, this literature does not regard Sin as a necessity ; but we find this idea rather more fully developed in the *Pseudepigrapha*. For example, in Enoch 98^4, we read : " Sin has not been sent upon the earth, but man of himself has created it." The doctrine of a Fall of some sort seems to be taught (cf. Enoch 85), but the fall of the angels was a far more serious matter, apparently, for Humanity than the fall of Adam. In the *Book of Jubilees* the origin of Sin is not to be sought in Adam's sin, but in demons. On the other hand, in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, 44, Adam says to Eve : " What hast thou done ? Great plagues hast thou brought upon us, wickedness and sin upon our whole race " ; so, too, in the parallel account in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, Adam says : " What hast thou done to us ? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath, even death, which now rules over our whole race."

[1] Even in the undoubtedly Jewish portions.

III. The Teaching of the Rabbis.

We come now to the more specifically *Jewish* doctrine of Sin, as found reflected in the *Rabbinical writings*.

The Jews do not believe in Original Sin; the idea that Adam's sin in any way affected the status of the human race is quite alien to Jewish teaching. As we shall see more fully brought out as we proceed, the *tendency* to sin is conceived of as being in existence before the creation of Adam. His sin is merely a result of the evil of his heart which began to come into being as soon as he was born.

According to Jewish teaching the "Fall" was the transgression of *one* commandment, aggravated, however, by the absence of all repentance on the part of Adam; it was brought about by the subtilty of Satan—or the serpent, for the two are of course identical—because he was jealous of Adam, who had usurped the position formerly held by Satan as God's favourite.

> Jewish traditions vary, however, as to the reason of Satan's tempting Eve; in several passages it is stated that Satan's lust towards her brought about her fall; see *Bereshith rabbah* c. 18, 19; *Sanhedrin* 59^{b}; *Sotah* 9^{b}; *Yebamoth* 103^{b}; *Abodah zarah* 22^{b}.

The Targums teach that death is one of the consequences of sin; this is expressed in one passage, in the Jerusalem Targum to Genesis 3^{6}, by saying that at the moment in which Eve succumbed to temptation she saw Sammael the angel of death; as Satan is identical with Sammael, we must suppose that this passage is intended to teach that Satan revealed himself to Eve as the angel of death at the moment in which he overcame her. But in the continuation of the same passage it is said. that the fear which Sammael's appearance inspired led Adam and Eve to eat of the Tree; what is meant is, possibly, this: they knew that the tree "was to be desired to make one wise," and therefore ate of it in the belief that it would act as a kind of safeguard against Sammael; the passage would

then be an illustration of what is so often laid stress upon, namely, the wiliness of Satan. Further on in the same passage, in the comment on Genesis 3^{7}, we read: "His (Adam's) skin was a light garment, shining like his nails; when he sinned this lightness vanished, and he appeared naked." As illustrating a deeper realization of the essence of Sin we may refer to the *Targum of Jonathan* to Is. 62^{10}, where it says that the imagination of sin is sin, cf. Jer. Targ. i to Deut. 23^{11}.

While the existence of sin is presupposed before Adam fell, his sin was the means of death entering into the world, so that all generations to the end of time are subject to death (*Tanchuma, Bereshith* 8).

But the essence of the teaching concerning the "Fall" is that it was the transgression of a *single* commandment which would not in itself have been fatal, had it not been for the fact that Adam exhibited no sign of penitence; he refused to entertain sorrow for his sin when called upon to do so by God; on the contrary, he set himself against God, and became, like Satan, a rebel. This is brought out, for example, in the following passage from *Bemidbar rabbah* c. 13, in which the words of Prov. 29^{23} (*A man's pride shall bring him low; but he that is of a lowly spirit shall obtain honour*) are made to refer to Adam: "When Adam transgressed the command of the Holy One and ate of the tree, the Holy One demanded of him penitence, thereby revealing to him the means of freedom (i.e., from guilt), but Adam would not. . . . But what is meant by, *And now* (Gen. 3^{22})? This: that the Holy One said to him: '*Even now* show penitence, and I will accept thee.' But Adam replied: 'I will not!' Then said the Holy One: '*And now!*' Adam reiterated: 'No, I will not!'" [1] So that, according to this teaching—and the passage is not an isolated one of the kind—Adam might, by an act of penitence, have annulled the effects of the Fall. Because

[1] Weber, p. 218. See further Bousset p. 384.

he would not perform this act he was driven out of Eden, and had to suffer all the consequences which this entailed.

IV. The Doctrine of the Yetser hara'.

But the theory which is contained in the above, and other similar passages, did not account satisfactorily for the existence of evil in every human being. There arose, therefore, what may be regarded as the Jewish equivalent to the Christian doctrine of "Original Sin," in the theological sense, though, as we have already seen, the Jews profess not to believe in this. This was the theory of the *Yetser hara'*, i.e., "the evil tendency" or "bias towards evil."

The theory was probably prevalent long before its appearance in Rabbinical literature, and seems to be taught in the book of Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*), e.g. 16^{11}, 21^{31}, 37^{3}.

The extraordinary thing about this theory of the origin of sin is that, in the last instance, God is the cause of Sin; for, as Creator of all things, He created the *Yetser hara'* in Adam, the existence of which made the Fall possible (*Bereshith rabbah*, c. 27). A few passages may be cited to show this. The Almighty is made to say: "I grieve that I created man of earthly substance; for had I created him of heavenly substance, he would not have rebelled against me:" (*Yalkut Shim. Beresh.* 44, 47); again: "It repenteth me that I created the *Yetser hara'* in man, for had I not done this he would not have rebelled against me" (*Ibid.* 61); once more: "I created an *evil tendency*. I created for him (i.e., man) the Law as a means of healing. If ye occupy yourselves with (the study of) the Law, ye will not fall into the power of it (i.e., the *evil tendency*)" (*Kiddushin* 30^{b}). Dr. Taylor, in his Commentary on "The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers" (*Pirke Aboth*), has an interesting note on iv, 2, "Who is mighty? He that subdues nature";—the words from Psalm 37^{32} are quoted, *The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him*, it then continues: "The *wicked* is man's evil nature

which he must subdue, yet not wholly destroy and eradicate, for this would be to ruin the body by the psychic force. The evil *Yetser* rules over the animal soul which a man is commanded to preserve (*Take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently*, Deut. 4^{9}) ; and in order to do this, he must to a certain extent follow the prompting of the *Yetser*. Even the evil *Yetser* is good, for it is said : *And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good* (Gen. 1^{31}). The good *Yetser* was very good, and so was the evil *Yetser*, but for which a man would never build a house, nor marry, nor beget, nor trade." [1] Then after quoting *Sanhedrin* 107^{b} (" The evil nature, and a child, and a woman, are things which the left hand should repel, and the right hand bring near "), Dr. Taylor adds : " The evil nature is called *Yetser* absolutely from its existing originally, and for a long time alone, for ' the *imagination* of man's heart is *evil* from his youth ' (Gen. 8^{21}), whereas *Yetser-ha-tob* (' the good nature '), which is presided over by *Nous* (the ' Mind '), is added later, and then only co-exists with the evil, which is thirteen years older (*Midrash Koheleth* 9^{14}). The strong and great man is he in whom the evil nature is strong : ' and therefore our wise men, of blessed memory, have said, In the place where penitents stand, the faultlessly righteous stand not,' for it is said (Is. 57^{19}), Peace, peace, to him that is far off, and to him that is near : to the far-off first, and afterwards to the near (*Berachoth* 35^{b})."

The Rabbinic speculations concerning this *Yetser hara'* clearly witness to the conviction of Jewish theologians that sin was inherent in humanity. This is very important, for it brings them, though through a different channel, into close proximity with Christian teaching on this part of the subject. Where Jewish and Christian teaching part company fundamentally is not upon the question of sinful humanity (though they may differ as to how

[1] See *Bereshith rabbah* c. 9., cf. *Sukkah* 52^{b}.

humanity became sinful), but upon the means whereby sin is taken away.

V. The Doctrine of Atonement.

This brings us to the subject of *Atonement*. According to Rabbinical teaching sin can be taken away by three things: Good deeds, Repentance, and Confession. It will be best to take each of these separately, and illustrate them by reference to Jewish writings.

a. Good deeds. Among these must be reckoned the offering of sacrifices, for although sacrifices have long ceased, there are good deeds which are reckoned as substitutes for sacrifices; and not only are such substitutes regarded as efficacious as the sacrifices themselves were, but it "became a definite doctrine with the Rabbis that the substitutes for sacrifices are more potent than sacrifice." [1] It is said several times in *Bemidbar rabbah* that no man in Jerusalem was burdened, or passed the night with a consciousness of sin; for the morning sacrifice atoned for the sins of the night, and the evening sacrifice for the sins of the day. "As a man goes down to the brook dirty, and comes up clean, so a man went up to the sanctuary with sins, and came forth without them." [2] Some authorities say that sacrifice atones for sins *per se*, though others teach that sacrifice must be accompanied by repentance if sin is to be atoned for. Other passages which lay stress on the efficacy of good works for taking away sin are: "If a man yields his rights, his sins are forgiven" (*Yoma* 23^a, $87^{a, b}$); "God forgives him who forgives his neighbour" (*Rosh hashanah* 17^{a}, cf. Matt. $6^{14, 15}$; Luke 6^{37}); "So long as we are merciful, God is merciful to us; if we are not merciful to others, God is not merciful to us" (*Megillah* 28^a, cf. Matt. 5^7); "Three things can cancel evil decrees, namely, prayer, almsgiving

[1] See C. G. Montefiore's art. *Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance* in *JQR*, xvi (Jan., 1904), pp. 209–257.

[2] *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps, v, § 1..

and repentance." [1] "If God loves the poor, why does He not feed them"? The answer is: "To save the rich from Gehenna." [2] See further § vi of this chapter.

b. Repentance. The Rabbis taught that he who truly repents "is regarded by God as if he had gone to Jerusalem, rebuilt the altar, and offered all the sacrifices of the Law." [3] *Teshubah* ("Repentance") combined with good works is most efficacious; the Talmud states that three books are opened on New Year's Day: the righteous are inscribed, in one of these, for life; the wicked, in another, for death; while the "intermediate"—neither really good nor thoroughly bad—remain in suspense until the Day of Atonement. By *good works* and *repentance* they can make the swaying balance incline in their favour. Moreover, even the wicked—this seems to be the general idea [4]—can cause the inscribed decree to be cancelled, if they repent (*Rosh ha-Shanah* 17^{b}; *Yebamoth* 105^{a}). Among many beautiful passages on repentance in Rabbinical writings which teach how forgiveness of sins is accorded in response to it, the few following may be cited: "God says, My hands are stretched out towards the penitent; I thrust no one back who gives me his heart in repentance" (*Shemoth rabbah* xii, 4). "God's hand is stretched out under the wings of the heavenly chariot to snatch the penitent from the grasp of justice" (*Pesachim* 119^{a}). "Open for me a gateway of repentance as big as a needle's eye, and I will open for you gates wide enough for chariots and horses" (*Shir rabbah* on v, 2); in the well-known passage, Matt. 19 [24], it is the want of repentance on the part of the rich man—*All these things have I observed; what lack I yet?*—that called forth Christ's words; cf. Luke 5[32]: *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to*

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[1] Quoted from the Midrash by Montefiore *op. cit.*

[2] Quoted from the Talmud by Montague, *Tales from the Talmud*, p. 252.

[3] Quoted from *Wayyikra rabbah* by Montefiore *op. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*

repentance, see Matt. 9^{13}; Mark, 2^{17}. Again: "A man can shoot an arrow a few furlongs, but repentance reaches to the throne of glory" (*Pesikta* 163^{a}).[1] In some instances it is taught that even after death repentance is sometimes of avail. On the other hand, there is also found the doctrine that for some sins repentance is impossible, e.g.: "For him who sins and causes others to sin no repentance is allowed or possible" (*Aboth* v. 26, *Sanhedrin* 107^{b}), cf. Rom. 1^{32}: *Who, knowing the ordinance of God, that they which practise such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but also consent with them that practise them;* it is of these that it is said (verse 28): *They refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind.* So, too, in *Midr. Tehillin* Ps. 1: "He who is wholly given up to sin is unable to repent, and there is no forgiveness to him for ever"; cf. Mark 3^{29}: *But whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.* It is characteristic of the Rabbinical doctrine of Repentance that they restrict it in large measure to Israel; they are particularist, and rarely mention the Gentiles in this connexion. Mr. Montefiore, in summing up the teaching of the Rabbis on *Teshubah*, says: "The Rabbinic teaching about Repentance is closely akin to the Jewish teaching of the latter end of the nineteenth century A.D. The main differences are first, that the Rabbinic doctrine is, on the whole, particularist, while the modern teaching is pronouncedly universalist; and secondly, that the Rabbis are sterner towards the sinner, especially towards the *religious* sinner,—the heretic, the apostate, the unbeliever. Lastly, whereas, according to the modern teaching, all punishment after death can only be remedial and temporary, the Rabbis held that for some sinners there was no share whatever in the blessedness of the world to come."[2]

[1] These passages are quoted from Montefiore *op. cit.*
[2] *Ibid.*

c. Confession. As this subject is treated in the section "The Day of Atonement" (see ch. xx), it will suffice to illustrate it quite briefly here. It is, however, impossible to separate it from the Day of Atonement, as that is the time *par excellence* at which confession is made. Confession of sins (*Widdui*), implying as it does Repentance, obtains pardon *per se*. According to *Yalkut Shim.*, *Bereshith* 159, confession is meritorious, and of avail for reward both in this world and the next; even the murderer can by means of it attain to eternal life (*Sanhedrin* 103[a]). But as on the Day of Atonement full confession of all the sins of the past year is made, it follows that the proper observance of this day is of great efficacy in taking away sin. Thus in the Mishnah (*Yoma* viii, 8) it says: "Death and the Day of Atonement atone together with repentance, repentance atones for venial sins, whether of omission or commission; for grievous sins repentance holds the matter in suspense, till the Day of Atonement comes and atones." In the Jerusalem Talmud (*Yoma* viii, 6) it is said that the Day of Atonement brings atonement even without repentance for sins of omission, whereas for sins of commission repentance is an indispensable condition. Sins of commission are always, in the Talmud, regarded as more serious than sins of omission. For in the same tractate (viii, 9) it says that "for sins between man and God the Day of Atonement brings forgiveness, for sins between man and man the Day brings no forgiveness until he is reconciled with his neighbour."

It will, therefore, be seen that, according to Jewish teaching, the forgiveness of sins depends upon the sinner, for there is no question of a mediator; "specially favoured is Israel in that he does not require a go-between" (*Yoma* 52[a]).

In a few isolated passages divine grace is referred to, e.g.: "If you do not commit a sin three times, God will keep you from committing it for ever" (*Yoma* 39[a]),

"For him who would pollute himself, the doors are open; he who would purify himself is helped" (*Ibid.* 38[b]); "Our Father and King, bring us back in perfect repentance unto Thy presence (*Ibid.* 39[a], see Singer, p. 56); "My God, the soul which Thou hast placed in me is pure" (*Berachoth* 60[b]). But passages like these are exceptional; the Rabbis were strong believers in man's free-will; it is, according to them, man's own fault if he sins; he can be good if he chooses; and no one but man's own contrite heart is his advocate before God. In *Yoma* 38[b] it says: "If a man has the chance to sin once or twice and he resists, he will not sin again," and in *Shemoth rabbah* xxv, § 12 we read: "The period of the redemption depends solely upon repentance and good works." Man's free-will, therefore, is the prime essential; divine grace does not, *per se*, lead men to do what is right; repentance is brought about by man, and by man alone. God accepts repentance in man, but He has had nothing to do with its appearance in the heart of man; it was the *Yetser-ha-tob*, the "bias towards good," which is one part of man's nature, that called forth repentance. One sees, in view of this, the significance of such a passage as Rom. 2[4]: *Despisest thou the riches of His goodness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?*

VI. The Doctrine of "Zecuth."

What has been said receives illustration from the Jewish doctrine of *Zecuth*. This word means, in the first instance, "purity" or "cleanness"; in the present connexion its root ideas may perhaps be best expressed in the two words: "satisfaction" and "claim"; that is to say, the man who has kept all the commandments of God has *Zecuth*, i.e., he is in that state of righteousness which is attained by having *satisfied* all the divine demands made upon him, and therefore he is in a position to *claim* his

reward from God ; he is a " righteous " man, and therefore " justified " in the sight of God. There is, according to Jewish teaching, a kind of " account current " kept by the Almighty respecting every Israelite ; the credit and debit columns in this divine account-book are balanced up every day (cf. *Kethuboth* 67[b]). Every good action is written down to a man's credit in this species of banking account, and every evil deed is put down on the debit side ; according as to whether the balance is on the credit or debit side of the account, a man is justified, or the reverse, before God ; and therefore, as it is said in *Kiddushin* 40[b], a man is judged " according to that which balances," [1] i.e., according to which side of the account is greater. The things which, above all, go to swell the credit side of a man's account are the study of the *Torah*, almsgiving, and deeds of love ; but it is important to notice that almsgiving only has value in the sight of God when it is the outcome of real goodness of heart ; it must be combined with love ; compare with this Matt. 6[2] : *When therefore thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the Synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward.* Those against whom Christ was here speaking were transgressors of true Jewish precept. But all that a man does to swell the credit side of his account is due to his own initiative ; as already pointed out above, it is not the grace of God that leads men to do good works, but their own free-will ; man takes the initiative, and by his good works justifies himself in the sight of God. The following passages will illustrate this : " When Mar Ukba lay a-dying, he asked for his account ; it amounted to 7,000 Zuzim,[2] i.e., this was the sum-total of his almsgiving. Then he cried out : ' The way is far, and the provision is small,' i.e., he did

[1] Weber, p. 280.

[2] A Zuz was the silver denarius (called *dinar* in the *Mishnah*) and was equal to 9½*d.* of our money.

not think this sum was sufficient to ensure his justification in the sight of God; so he gave away the half of his fortune, in order to make himself quite secure" (*Kethuboth* 67[b]). Again, concerning a righteous man who died in the odour of sanctity, it is said, in *Tanchuma, Wayyakhel* i: "How much alms did he give, how much did he study the *Torah*, how many *Mitzvoth* ("commandments") did he fulfil! He will rest among the righteous." Significant, too, is what is said in *Baba Bathra* 10[a], viz., that God placed the poor on earth in order to save rich men from Hell.

One other point of importance regarding the works by means of which a man attains justification is that the *desire* to do a good act counts the same as its actual fulfilment; on the other hand, however, the desire to do a bad act does *not* count as though it had been accomplished, in this case, only the act itself, apart from its conception, is recorded against a man (*Kiddushin* 39[b] 40[a]).

To gain a true idea of the fundamental difference existing between the Jewish and Christian doctrine of sin, the following passages from St. Paul's Epistles should be studied:—

Rom. 3[23, 24]: *For all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God: being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.*

Rom. 4[2]: *For if Abraham was justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not toward God.*

Rom. 5[20]. . . . *But where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly.*

Gal. 2[16]. . . . *Yet knowing that a man is not justified by works of the law . . . that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.*

Gal. 2[21]: *I do not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought.*

Eph. 2[8–10]. *For by grace ye have been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God:*

not of works, that no man should glory. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God afore prepared, that we should walk in them.

VII. The Modern Jewish Teaching on Sin.

We come, finally, to consider the doctrine of sin as expounded by some of the more modern Jewish teachers though here, too, references to the earlier writings will also sometimes be given in so far as they are used by modern writers for substantiating their teaching.

In spite of what has been said as to the fundamental difference between the Jewish and Christian doctrine of Sin, there is much in which the two are identical, and we should be far from denying that in many respects the Jewish doctrine of sin is sublime.[1] This will be clearly seen on considering the subject in the following passages from the Service for the Day of Atonement :[2]

> Thou hast given us in love, O Lord our God, this Day of Atonement for pardon, forgiveness, and atonement, that we may obtain pardon thereon for all our iniquities. . . . Our God and God of our fathers, pardon our iniquities on this Day of Atonement ; blot out our transgressions and our sins, and make them pass away from before Thine eyes ; as it is said, I, even I, am He that blotteth out thy transgression for mine own sake ; and I will not remember thy sins. . . . Purify our hearts to serve thee in truth ; for thou art the forgiver of Israel and the pardoner of the tribes of Jeshurun in every generation, and beside thee we have no king who pardoneth and forgiveth. Blessed art thou, O Lord, thou King who pardonest and forgivest our iniquities and the iniquities of thy people, the house of Israel, who makest our trespasses to pass away year by year, King over all the earth, who sanctifiest Israel and the Day of Atonement.

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[1] We would not wish to fall under Mr. C. G. Montefiore's censure when he says : " There is a higher and a lower Jewish doctrine on the subject of sin. Yet the lower doctrine was never taught in isolation ; it is only so presented and isolated for controversial purposes by modern Christian writers." *Liberal Judaism*, p. 36.

[2] See Singer, pp. 255–269.

Again, confession of sins could scarcely be more adequately expressed than by the following :

> We have trespassed, we have been faithless, we have robbed, we have spoken basely, we have committed iniquity, we have sought unrighteousness, we have been presumptuous, we have done violence, we have forged lies, we have counselled evil, we have spoken falsely, we have scoffed, we have revolted, we have blasphemed, we have been rebellious, we have acted perversely, we have transgressed, we have persecuted, we have been stiff-necked, we have done wickedly, we have corrupted ourselves, we have committed abomination, we have gone astray, and we have led astray. (On the following pages, 259–262, there is a most minute specification of sins, for which God's pardon is sought.)

When one reads through this Service for the Day of Atonement, one can understand the feeling that prompts a Jew to claim for Judaism that it has a truer conception of the sinfulness of Sin than any other religion ; were it not that this is disproved by the Jewish doctrine of atonement, one might almost feel inclined to concede a certain amount of justification for the claim.

Quite in accordance with Christian teaching Judaism teaches that sin estranges from God, that it places a bar between man and his Creator. "He that transgresses, though it be in secret, thrusts God away from him" (*Chagigah* 16[a]). Moreover, modern Judaism teaches that sincere repentance is the first condition of reconciliation ; but when it is said that "reconciliation is the cleansing of the heart from the defilement of transgression," the inference suggested is that repentance is not only the condition of reconciliation with God, but also the *means* of cleansing from sin ; this is certainly antagonistic to Christian teaching on the subject. Still more is this the case when one finds the possibility contemplated of repentance being unnecessary because man has it in his power to avoid sin altogether, or when certain actions obliterate sin. In *Pirke Aboth* ii, 2, which is incorporated into the modern Jewish Liturgy, it says : "Rabban Gamaliel, the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince, said,

'An excellent thing is the study of the *Torah* combined with some worldly occupation, for the labour demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten. . . . Let all who are employed with the congregation act with them for Heaven's sake, for then the merit of their fathers sustains them, and their righteousness endures for ever.'" Again, we are told that "Rabbi Eleazar held that residence in the Holy Land tends to prevent sin."[1] Another Jewish teacher says: "One must always consider his good and evil deeds as evenly balanced; he will appreciate the danger of committing even one sin, which would lower the scale on the wrong side."[2] The significance of passages like these (and many more of a like character could be cited) lies in their silence regarding any *divine* action which would lead men to do those things which help him to abstain from sin; Judaism "firmly maintains the principle of individual responsibility and the freedom of the will."[3]

But further: Judaism teaches that divine forgiveness is impossible without repentance and amendment of life; with this, as far as it goes, Christian teaching is in entire accord. But when it is held further that the essential condition of *atonement* is the purifying of the desire, the ennobling of the will, then Christians see themselves bound to differ; yet this is the teaching of a recognized modern Jewish teacher. Mr. Morris Joseph, in his *Judaism as Creed and Life*, says: "We speak of reconciliation and pardon; but what are they save figures of speech? The reconciliation we have really to effect is with our higher selves, with our conscience which we have outraged, with our souls which we have sullied. The changeless mind of God knows no such mutations as are implied in the idea of wrath. What we style His anger is really the resentment of our better nature, its stern protest

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[1] *JE*, xi, 379.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] S. Levy, *Original Virtue and other short studies*, p. 55.

against the shame in which our sin has involved us. And so with forgiveness. Changefulness, such as the notion of pardon would attribute to Him, is inconceivable in the Perfect One. If He knows not the feeling of anger, He knows not the change involved in forgiveness. The only reconciliation possible for us is self-reconciliation. And by that self-reconciliation it is that we, again figuratively speaking, make our peace with God. We who have put ourselves far from Him, we whose iniquities have, in prophetic phrase, 'separated between us and our God,'—'raised a barrier of iron,' in the words of the Rabbins—between us and Him, go back to Him in thought and feeling like a wayward child to the father it has offended; we break down the obstacles to spiritual union with Him that our iniquity has created, and that sense of recovered fellowship we call forgiveness." It is only fair to say that the exceedingly illogical position here taken up would be altogether repudiated by Orthodox Judaism, for we have seen that the Jewish Liturgy has a far more exalted doctrine than this on Forgiveness and Sin. It has constantly to be borne in mind that in dealing with the beliefs of Modern Judaism, there is often a wide difference between those of orthodox Jews, who still hold to the traditional religion of their forefathers and who comprise the vast majority of the Jews—and those of Reform and semi-Reform Judaism; for the tenets of these latter see Chapter VI, § viii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE JEWISH DOCTRINE OF BAPTISM.

THE Original Signification of the Jewish Rite—Did Jewish Baptism partake of the Nature of a Sacrament ?—Old Testament Baptism Sacramental in Character—*Tebilah* not a Sacrament—Essene Baptism Sacramental.

ALREADY before the advent of Christ it had been laid down by the Jewish religious authorities that when proselytes were admitted into the fellowship of the "Covenant People," they should seal their acceptance of the new faith by a threefold rite.

Firstly, they had to be circumcised ; this was natural when one remembers that from the time of the Babylonian Captivity, at least, this rite and the observance of the Sabbath had been the distinguishing marks of Judaism. Secondly, they had to be baptized ; of this more presently. And thirdly, they had to offer sacrifice. The object of this one can understand, for sacrifice with special intention (whether a propitiation or a sin-offering, etc.) had for long been the foremost visible expression of worship among the Jews.

That Jews should have insisted on Baptism [1] is of especial interest to Christians, and it is worth while to inquire a little into the subject. Two points of inquiry suggest themselves :

1. What was the original signification of the rite among the Jews ?
2. Did it partake of the nature of a Sacrament ?

1. The Hebrew word for Baptism is *Tebilah ;* the actual word does not occur in Biblical Hebrew ; but its

[1] In later times (i.e., during the first centuries of Christianity) it became a burning question among the Rabbis whether Circumcision without Baptism was sufficient ; some maintained that Baptism alone sufficed !

root (*TaBaL*), which contains the fundamental signification, is met with fairly frequently in the Old Testament, e.g., Exod. 12^{22}: *Ye shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip* (tabal) *it in the blood that is in the basin;* see, too, Lev. 4^{6}, 9^{9}, 14^{6}; Lev. 14^{49-53} is, however, the most important passage, at all events in the Pentateuch; here the ritual for the cleansing and making atonement of a plague-stricken house is described. The priest takes two birds, cedar wood, scarlet and hyssop; he kills one of the birds in an earthen vessel over *running water*, which is conceived of as "living"; then he takes the living bird, with the cedar wood, scarlet and hyssop, and dips them all first in the blood of the slain bird, and then in the "living" water; having done this, he takes them all in his hands and sprinkles the house seven times with them. In this way he "cleanses the house." The real significance of the rite lies in the *atonement* made by means of *blood* and the *purification* by means of *living water;* this corresponds precisely to the later: *Repent and be baptized*, which was the kernel of the preaching of John the Baptist, as well as, later on, of the Apostles (see Acts 2^{38}). Further light is thrown on the meaning of the word as used in 2 Kings 5^{14}: *He dipped himself seven times in the Jordan;* clearly it is total immersion that is here referred to. Then, again, the word is used synonymously with "washing" (*rachatz*) in this section (vv. 10-14), which is the same word used by the Psalmist: *I will wash my hands in innocency* (Ps. 26^{6}).

Thus, according to the Old Testament, the original signification of the rite contained two ideas: (1) Cleansing; (2) Total immersion in the cleansing element.

In accordance with this, Jewish Baptism always implied *total immersion;* for without this, part of the significance of the rite would have been lost. It was, moreover, only fit and natural that the proselyte should have *witnesses* to his Baptism; this was, therefore, also the invariable custom.

But there were other kinds of "Baptism," which were in form and conception more or less similar to that just mentioned, but which belonged to a somewhat different category; these were *ceremonial purifications*, undertaken to obliterate "uncleanness" of one kind or another; see e.g., Num. 19, where several instructive examples will be found.

Different as these latter are in degree from Baptism in the more usual sense of the word, both have this in common, that the *washing* has the effect of taking away something that is offensive to God, something which debars a man from intercourse with God. In the one case, it is contact with something unclean which prohibits a man from worshipping God until he has been ritually cleansed; in the other, it is such a thing as disease, e.g. leprosy, from the taint of which a man must be purified before he is fit to come into the presence of God. It cannot be doubted that in the first instance *both* of these came under one and the same category; but at a comparatively early period the two must have been differentiated, and for this reason: according to the Jewish doctrine of *Sin*, all sickness was the visible manifestation of the wrath of God for transgression; leprosy, for example, was not only the symbol of a polluted soul, but also the sign that the soul was polluted, and that God was punishing the leper by means of the disease. Clearly, therefore, when once this belief (which has perhaps more truth in it than many people think, see 1 Cor. $11^{29, 30}$) arose, there was bound to ensue a discrimination between the impurity contracted, for example, by touching a dead body (Num. $19^{16, 17}$), and that which, for example, leprosy entailed. This leads us to our second question:—

2. Did Jewish Baptism partake of the nature of a Sacrament? Did, in other words, the Jews believe that through material means spiritual grace was conferred? This is a difficult question to answer, and the answer will differ according to different periods of Jewish history.

One or two preliminary considerations may be of assistance in discussing the question. Circumcision [1] *never*, among the Israelites, partook of a sacramental character; it was merely an outward sign, a sign that a covenant had been made with Jehovah. Not so, however, with many other peoples; it would not be difficult to show that, as practised by a number of more primitive races, circumcision *was* a sacrament,—of course, according to primitive conceptions. We are not, however, concerned with this here; neither Israelites nor, later on, Jews regarded it as other than a *badge*.

Then, again, it is very interesting to note that, though the Jews, during the two or three centuries before and after the birth of Christianity, had no rites which partook of a sacramental character, yet all the various other faiths which existed at this period had sacraments which formed almost the core of such faiths; the religions of Greece and Rome, Mithraism and Christianity, all had outward rites which were believed to be the means of conferring spiritual grace. But the *Jews* had none such. We shall return presently to the belief of the early *Israelites* which differed in this respect from later Judaism. But it is worth asking first, how one is to account for the following facts: Among primitive races sacraments are the rule; among the early Israelites, as will be shown, they existed; among the cultured Greeks and Romans they existed; among Christians, whose belief is the most advanced, and therefore the most spiritual, of all religions, sacraments were, and are, the condition of salvation [2]; and yet the Jews had no sacraments, nor have they to-day. How is one to account for these facts of (1) Sacraments being characteristic of the earliest and latest forms of belief,

[1] Its origin is involved in obscurity; it was very widely practised among an immense variety of peoples, and at the present day many savage tribes practise the rite, see Chap. xxi, § i.

[2] See the Church Catechism, which reflects the teaching of the early Church.

including the religion of Israel, and (2) of the Jews being without them ? [1] The answer is of extreme importance, but for an adequate answer a treatise would be required. We conceive that the answer would run somewhat on these lines :—

All primitive races, from the first dawn of understanding, have received the divine revelation, in small measure—in *very* small measure—but nevertheless in *some* measure ; if this were not granted, it would be difficult to believe that God has existed from all time ; for, if this latter be true, is it possible to conceive of God ever having *not* taken a deep interest in His highest creation ? Primitive man, therefore, received, in part, the divine revelation ; he therefore had his sacraments, the most astonishing of which was the widely-spread sacrificial meal, which had for its object the bringing about of a union between the worshipper and his God.[2] We, nowadays, speak of these kinds of sacraments as *Magic*, and from our point of view that is, of course, right ; but to early peoples they were as really sacraments as the Christian sacraments are to us ; their mental state only permitted of their receiving the divine revelation in small measure. Their sacraments possessed a *germ* of truth. As the divine revelation gradually became fuller, and man learned more about God, he realized that while his conceptions with regard to sacraments were in great part crass, yet that *some* truth lay in them ; the intensely difficult task lay before man to preserve the truth and discard the crass. In these three : in Jewish history (up to the present day), in the history of Paganism, and in the history of Christianity, we have, quite roughly speaking, three courses indicated : that which discarded

[1] The term "Jewish" is not properly applied to the nation until after the Captivity.

[2] For proof of this statement recourse must be had to works which enumerate the facts, such as J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, Jevon's *Introduction to the History of Religion*, etc.

the crass and the truth-germ with it ; that which went on as before and came to an end because a middle course was impossible ; and that which discarded the crass, but *retained* the truth-germ, and nourished it.

Thus Baptism among the *Jews* did not partake of a sacramental character ; but it *ought* to have done so logically, because, as we conceive, the prototype of Baptism among the *Israelites* did partake of a sacramental character. Here, again, want of space forbids a detailed proof, and we can but point out a few facts that make it reasonably certain that the prototype of Jewish Baptism among the Israelites was in some sense regarded as a Sacrament, i.e., that the visible rite conferred inward grace. One must remember that *grace*, in the early Israelite sense, though just as real to Israelites as grace in our sense of the word is to us, was nevertheless not of the same spiritual kind as what we understand by it now ; that is, of course, obvious.

The main line of argument is naturally dependent upon the early doctrine of *Sin* among the Israelites ; if it can be shown that, in any sense, washing had the effect of taking away sin of any kind, then it will follow that the *germ*, at least, of a sacrament was inherent in the Israelite rite of Ablution—the prototype of Baptism.

1. That, as already remarked, sickness was popularly regarded as the visible manifestation of the wrath of God for sin committed will be clear from one or two examples :

Exod. $4^{24\ 25}$: Jehovah is represented as seeking to kill Moses apparently because his son was not circumcized ; non-circumcision was in early Israel, as well as in later days, regarded as a grievous sin.

Exod. 11^{4-6} : It is said that Jehovah would slay the first-born of the Egyptians as the result of Pharaoh's hardness of heart, cf. 2. Sam. 7^{15} ff.

Num. 12^{1-15} : One could not well have a more striking passage than this ; Miriam questions whether he Lord has spoken by Moses alone, and holds that He

has spoken by Aaron and by her as well. As a result of this sin against the unique God-given authority of Moses, Miriam becomes a leper (v. 10).

1. Sam $25^{38,39}$: Here we read that the Lord smote Nabal that he died; the reason is given in David's words: *Blessed be the Lord, that hath pleaded the cause of my reproach from the hand of Nabal, and hath kept back his servant from evil: and the evil-doing of Nabal hath the Lord returned upon his own head.*

Isa. 53^{3-5}. The Man of sorrow and sickness (the Hebrew for "griefs" in verse 4 means "sicknesses") is regarded by the people, whom the prophet is instructing, as suffering God's chastisement for his *own* sins: *We did esteem him stricken; smitten of God, and afflicted.*

These instances will suffice, though they might be considerably increased. They make it quite clear that sickness and death were looked upon as sent by God in consequence of sin.

2. We turn now to some actual instances of ablution:—

Lev. 15^{13}: A man who has an "issue" is required to bathe (wash) in "living" water, and he will be clean. If the "issue" is a manifestation of divine wrath for sin committed, and if the washing takes away that manifestation, then it must, logically, have been believed that that of which the "issue" was the visible sign must have been taken away too. If this reasoning be correct, it follows that the outward act of washing was believed to effect a reconciliation between the transgressor and his God; and this is essentially a Sacrament. The expression, "living water," is full of meaning; it derived its "life" from the spirit which (in early times) was believed to dwell in it. "Holy" wells were believed to be the domiciles of powerful spirits, and their "energy" was conceived of as belonging inherently to the water in which they dwelt. In later times this belief was discarded, but the expression "living water" was still retained; and it was still popularly supposed that

the water itself, though not the spirit's power in it, took away the illness or sign of divine wrath, and therefore the sin of which it was the sign.

Num. $8^{7,8}$: Before the Levites were fit to enter upon their duties, there were certain ceremonies to be gone through, which had the effect of cleansing them from their sins. They had first to be sprinkled with the "waters of expiation" (lit. "the waters of sin"), then they had to shave and wash; after that they had to offer up a "sin-offering," i.e., an offering which takes away sin. There can be little doubt that we have here an instance of duplication to make certainty doubly sure. The water took away the sin, but to make certain, in such special cases as the sanctification of the Levites to their holy office, a sin-offering *also* is offered. The two are analogous rites, as their name implies, viz., "waters of sin" means water that takes away sin, "sin-offering" means an offering that takes away sin. So that the very existence of such an expression as "waters of sin" shows that this use of water constituted a sacrament.

Lev. 14^{1-32}: Without going into details, which would take up too much space, it will be found on reading this passage that the recovered leper had, among other things, to wash in "living" water and offer a sin-offering. This in the case of a leper was of still greater significance than in the example just cited, inasmuch as leprosy was *par excellence* the symbol of sin—in early days the result of sin. The recovered leper, according to this passage, had a long series of purifications to go through before the taint of sin could be removed. This passage is especially instructive, because it is not the leprosy itself which the man was being cleansed from, for in vv. 3 and 4 the directions given are: "... *And the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper, then shall the priest command* ..."; that is to say, the actual physical disease had departed before the cleansing process was undertaken. It would seem that the invisible

taint of sin (as distinct from its visible manifestation), on account of which the divine visitation, in the shape of leprosy, had overtaken the man, was that which the cleansing process was intended to purify; for the man could not enter into God's presence for worship until he had washed, etc. It is thus difficult to get away from the conviction that this "washing" contains the elements of a sacrament. In some passages in which "washing" is referred to it is mentioned in connexion with "sanctifying"; indeed, it would appear that the act of "sanctifying oneself" consisted in washing. This is certainly the sense in Deut. 19^{10-14}. To "sanctify oneself" is "to make oneself holy"; if, therefore, *washing* was the act, or part of the act, of sanctifying oneself, it can scarcely be denied that it was regarded as a sacramental act.

Lastly, there is the expression of "washing the hands" as a sign of innocency, as found in Deut. 21^{6-9} and in Ps. 26^{6}. Even though this be but a symbol, or a poetical expression, it can scarcely be doubted that the symbol is the natural descendant of a rite which was originally more than a symbol. Though actual proof may not be forthcoming in this case, analogies could be cited to show that it is highly probable that at one time the ritual, the visible act of washing the hands, was believed to be the counterpart of an invisible taking away of transgression, i.e. a sacrament.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon this point because it is one of importance. The conclusion, however, is that in early Israel *ritual washing*, the prototype of Baptism, was a sacramental act; logically, therefore, the Baptism (*Tebilah*) of later Judaism ought to have been a sacrament, but it was not.

On the other hand, it is very interesting to notice that Baptism among the Essenes was distinctly a Sacrament [1];

[1] This is vividly brought out, for example, in the pseudepigraphic work, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, believed to be of Essene origin.

moreover, the formula with which John the Baptist must so often have prefaced his preaching—*Repent and be baptized*—implies that he regarded Baptism as a sacrament. These two pre-Christian examples of Baptism being regarded as a Sacrament are instructive, because the Essenes and the followers of the Baptist certainly possessed a more spiritual form of religion than the orthodox Jew. That Baptism is not now practised by the Jews can only be accounted for by the fact that it has become a distinctively Christian rite.

For further details regarding the Rabbinic practice of baptizing proselytes, see Edersheim, *Life and Times*. . . . Vol. ii, App. xii.

PART III. PRACTICAL RELIGION

CHAPTER XIV.

The Education and Life of the Jew.

What is a Jew?—Early Years—Education of Children—*Cheder* and Religious Instruction—Hebrew and Yiddish—*Bar Mitzvah*—Higher Instruction.

I

As a preliminary to the attempt to form some general conception of the life and education of the Jew as a whole, it is necessary to distinguish within the ranks of Judaism itself the different types that are included under the designation "Jew." What is a Jew? He is, strictly, a member of that particular branch of the Semitic race which, within historical times, had its centre in the province of Judæa, and was dispersed from that centre. As this race has, on the whole, maintained its separateness and identity—though scattered all over the world, and for ages past deprived of its national centre—and as it consistently refuses to intermarry with other populations, it is strictly accurate to describe its members as Jews (i.e. Judahites). The underlying unity which binds together the whole mass of Jews the world over, and in which the many external differences of language, social customs, and local peculiarities are reconciled, is fundamentally racial.

It is in this light that the Jew is regarded by the average non-Jew. The latter "knows Jewry by its descent rather than its creed. Indeed," says Mr. Arnold White, "the peculiar characteristics usually associated with the Hebrew community are not religious but racial. The quarrel of un-Christlike Christendom with the Judaism that has broken with Moses is not a question of faith;

it is a matter of character and habit engendered partly by Oriental origin and Semitic exclusiveness, and partly, perhaps principally, by qualities acquired by the race through centuries of persecution and cruelty at the hands of the followers of the Nazarene under the operation of the first law of Nature—the wish to live."[1] But it would be a great mistake, and would argue a merely superficial acquaintance with the subject, to regard the Jew as merely the representative of a peculiar race. How comes it about that this race has been able to maintain itself in such numbers against the almost intolerable pressure of alien forces in the Western world? The answer is, *The preservation of the race is due to the intensity and dominance of its religion.* It may be doubted if any religious system has ever been so thoroughly and consistently applied and carried out in practice by a community of people as has Judaism for long periods by the Jewish race. Jewish history, regarded from this point of view, affords a phenomenon without a parallel. The true key, then, for unlocking the Jewish enigma is the study of Jewish religion.

From this point of view, the religious Jew, the man who, in Jewish parlance, is "froom," or pious, is the truly typical Jew. There are, of course, other types of Jews. Mr. Arnold White, in his book, *The Modern Jew*, divides English Jews into four classes—viz. (1) the Jewish aristocracy, at whose houses one never meets an untitled Jew; (2) the highly-educated, anglicized Jews, who refuse intermarriage, but, generally speaking, are by no means "froom." Jews of this type throng the professions; (3) the rich cosmopolitan Jew, whose God is money, who is alike destitute of patriotism and religion; who is, in fact, a materialist of the worst and most dangerous kind, and who is a fount of social poison; (4) the destitute alien.

[1] *The Modern Jew*, p. 4.

Mr. White has, however, omitted to mention a fifth class, with whom we shall be largely concerned, as this class is, perhaps, the best exponent of the special and characteristic qualities of Jewish religion. We mean the alien who is *not* destitute. The religious Jew is the truly typical Jew, because all other types are modifications, and not by any means always desirable modifications, of the religious original. The religious type is presupposed by, and explains, the rest. Even when a Jew has given up his ancestral religion and professes "free-thinking" principles, he is, in a way he may not always be fully conscious of, still largely under the dominion of forces and tendencies which not infrequently re-assert themselves, and which find their true explanation in the past religious history of the race. An exquisite characterization of this type of Jew is given in the pathetic and powerful study, entitled "Chad Gadya," in Mr. Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto*.

The dominant note, then, of Jewish life and education is religion, or at least religious observance. Religion pervades not only the Synagogue, but the Home. As will be seen, later, the Home is an almost more important centre of religious observance than the Synagogue itself. The great Passover commemoration, for instance, is mainly a Festival of the Home. The Home is thus the centre on which the affections and leisure of the typical Jew are concentrated. In it the life and strength of Judaism find their citadel.

II. Early Years.

The important moments in the life of the Jew, from birth to death, are all invested with a religious sanction and a religious significance. The atmosphere into which the Jewish child is born, and in which it grows up, is crowded with associations, symbols and observances, which are bound up with the past religious history of the race.

In the case of boys, the rite of initiation into the covenant of Abraham (*Berith Milah*—i.e., "Covenant of Circumcision") is carried out by the *Mohel*, usually at home, but sometimes in the Synagogue after morning service. In some places it has been customary for friends to visit the house during the week preceding this ceremony, to pray for the welfare of the new-born infant, and for boys to recite there Biblical passages, such as Gen. 48[16], Jacob's blessing on Joseph's sons—"The Angel which redeemed me from all evil bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth!" A favourite day for such a visit was the Friday before the ceremony, and the occasion was looked upon as one for hospitality. The night before the ceremony was spent in reading Bible and *Talmud*, so that the child might from the beginning breathe, as it were, the atmosphere of *Torah* (Friedländer). Other quaint local customs, expressing the same idea, are also met with.

Some interesting features connected with the rite itself are also worth noting. The service used can be seen in Singer's edition of the Hebrew Prayer-Book (in Hebrew and English) on p. 304. It will be noticed that a prominent personage at the ceremony is the *Sandek*, or godfather, also called "Gevatter," after the German name, upon whose knees the child is placed during the performance of the rite, and who is also sometimes called the *Baal Berith* ("Master of the Covenant").

Now this word *Sandek* is no other than the Greek word σύντεκνος, the Greek ecclesiastical term for godfather. It was the σύντεκνος who lifted the neophyte from the baptismal waters. Apparently in Italy it was customary to have two *Sandeks*. The *Sandek* does not appear in the Jewish service till the tenth century of our era. The *Sandek's* place in the ceremony is near the seat of honour called "the throne of Elijah," on which

the child is placed at the beginning of the ceremony, immediately before the performance of the rite.

Dr. Friedländer explains the "throne of Elijah" as symbolically representing "the religious enthusiasm required for the performance of this *mitzvah*" (or religious duty), as Elijah figures in Jewish tradition as "the type of religious zeal." But, as Professor Schechter has pointed out,[1] Elijah is supposed to be the angel of the covenant, and in this capacity to preside over the rite. This is no doubt the right explanation. The godfather among the Jews also has the privilege of being expected to make a present to the child—a silver cup, usually—sometimes also to the child's mother.

Another important feature associated with this ceremony is *the Naming of the child.* This has been the custom among the Jews since post-exilic times. One will naturally think in this connexion of the case of John the Baptist, who received his name of John on the eighth day, under remarkable circumstances, as recorded in Luke 1^{59}.

The last clause of the final prayer in the present Jewish Service is worth quoting here. It runs: "The little child (then follows the child's name) may he become great. Even as he has entered into the Covenant, so may he enter into the Law, the nuptial canopy, and into good deeds."

Then follows an interesting piece of ritual.

The godfather drinks of the wine; a few drops are given to the infant, and the Cup of Blessing being sent unto the mother, she also partakes thereof. Wine, the reader may be reminded, plays a great part in Jewish religious rites, and is a natural symbol of thanksgiving. Immediately after the rite of initiation there follows a festival-meal in honour of the event. This is a much more ancient institution

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[1] *Studies in Judaism*, chap. xii ("The Child in Jewish Literature").

than that of the *Sandek*. Jewish legend, in order to emphasize this fact, "supplies many particulars of the dinner the patriarch Abraham gave at the Berith of his son Isaac." [1] A special grace to follow this meal is given in the Jewish Prayer-Book, p. 306 fol.

In the case of a first-born son there also, at one time, followed another interesting ceremony, known as "the Redemption of the First-Born" (Heb., *Pidyon ha-Bēn*).[2]

This took place, in accordance with the Biblical injunction (Exod. 34^{20}), when the child (the custom, however, does not apply when the child is the son of a Levite) was one month old. A payment of five shekels (15*s*.) was given to a Cohen, or descendant of Aaron (Numb. 18^{16}), and this occasion was also utilized for a festival-banquet. A special service for this rite is still provided in the Jewish Prayer-Book (Singer, p. 308 fol.). There is reason to believe, however, that it is falling into abeyance in the Jewish community. It is interesting to note that in the Middle Ages the redemption of the first-born meant far more than it does now. After the rite of initiation "they put the child on cushions and a Bible on its head, and the elders of the community, or the principal of the college, imparted their blessings to it." These devoted their lives to sacred study (*Torah* and *Talmud*) "and formed the chief contingent of the Yeshiboth (Talmudical Colleges)." [1]

In the case of girls, the ceremony of name-giving takes place in the Synagogue on the first Sabbath after birth, when the father is called up to the reading of the Law (a mark of special distinction).[3] In many places, however, it is deferred to a Sabbath when the mother can be present for the first time after the child's birth. After the ceremony the friends, as usual, assemble at the parents' house for congratulation and hospitality. This particular

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[1] Schechter, *op. cit. ibid.* [2] See, further, Chap. xxi, § ii.
[3] See this explained in Chap xviii, § 2.

ceremony is noteworthy as "being the only attention the female child receives from the Synagogue." After the father was called up to the reading of the Law followed the formula beginning: "May He who blessed our father Abraham, may He also bless," etc. Then followed the announcement of the child's name. The prayer is printed in Singer, p. 132.

III. Education of Children.

This has always been regarded by the Jews as a matter of the supremest importance. "And to be sure," as Prof. Schechter remarks, "it was not an easy matter to bring up a priest." All kinds of anecdotes are told in Rabbinic literature of infant prodigies in learning. Thus it is recorded that "a famous Kabbalist, Nahum, at the age of three gave a lecture on the Decalogue that lasted for three days." But happily such precocity was not encouraged. One charming story of a somewhat different kind is told, which is worth repeating. We are indebted for it to Prof. Schechter. R. Joshua ben Hananiah once made a journey to Rome. Here he was told that amongst the captives from Jerusalem there was a child with bright eyes, its hair in ringlets, and its features strikingly beautiful. The Rabbi made up his mind to redeem the boy. He went to the prison, and addressed the child with a verse from Isaiah: "Who gave Jacob for a spoil and Israel to the robbers?" On this the child answered by continuing the second half of the same verse: "Did not the Lord, He against whom we have sinned? For they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law" (Isa. 43^{24}). The Rabbi was so delighted with this answer that he said: "I am sure he will grow up to be a teacher in Israel. I take an oath to redeem him, cost what it may." The child was afterwards known as R. Ishmael ben Elisha.

The history of the Jewish system of education is a long and fascinating one, and can only be touched upon

in the briefest possible manner here. But it is impossible properly to understand the Jewish character without realizing what an immense part education has played in developing and maintaining Judaism at various periods of its remarkable history.

The Jewish race may well be proud of its educational achievements. To it belongs the distinction of having produced the oldest hand-book of pædagogic principles in the world—the Book of Proverbs. The discipline of the intellect has become part of its religion. The Synagogue was, and to some extent still is, especially in Poland, the centre of the community's intellectual as well as religious life. This fact so much struck Christian observers in the Middle Ages, that we find the Synagogue consistently described in mediæval documents as *schola* or school, a term which has survived in the German term for the Synagogue, *shool*.

The Synagogue appears to have possessed this character as far back as New Testament times. For though such terms as "schoolmaster" (Rom. 2^{19} ff.) and "teacher of infants" occur in the New Testament, and thus prove that the school, as an institution, was well known, it is remarkable that the word "school" itself only occurs there once, and then not of a Jewish school, but of the lecture-room of a Greek rhetorician at Ephesus (Acts 19^{9}). The probable explanation is that the school, in both its elementary and higher forms, was so intimately associated with the Synagogue, that, in ordinary speech, the two were not separated. The term Synagogue included its school. The close association of learning and religion in Judaism strikes one at every turn. On looking at the beginning of the Jewish Prayer-Book passages will be found from the *Mishnah* and *Baraithas* containing specimens of the subtle dialectic in which the Jewish mind revels. Now these passages at first sight seem to serve no religious purpose whatever. In fact, to non-Jewish eyes they appear to be positively unedifying. Their presence

in the Liturgy at all can only be explained when we remember the point of view from which the typical Jew regards such subjects. To the Jew, Jewish learning is part of the Jewish religion. As a consequence, a certain amount of sacred learning is a necessary part of every true Jew's equipment. The good results that have flowed from this attitude of mind are that the intellectual level of the whole race has been raised. In certain places, for certain periods of their history, the Jewish people may, with very little exaggeration, be said to have produced a nation of scholars. This is, to-day, largely true of Poland, which is still the centre of Jewish intellectual energy. But even in countries like our own, where Jewish life is lived on a necessarily much smaller scale, and with far less intensity, and where devotion to Jewish studies, as such, is checked and reduced by the multifarious foreign influences of a seductive non-Jewish environment, the effect of the intellectual discipline of the past on the race is apparent enough. The keen wits and sharp intelligence of the least educated of Jewish children are notorious. Learning and the learned class are honoured in the Jewish community in a way that it would be hard to parallel in the case of any other body of people, with the possible exception of the Scotch. The intellectual element in Jewish religion is thus very pronounced, and this is a matter which ought to be fully understood by those who wish to commend Christianity to the Jewish people.

Herein Judaism reveals both its strength and its weakness. Its strength—for it is undoubtedly the love of sacred study, instilled in School and Synagogue, that has saved the Jewish race from extinction; and its weakness—because it is possible to give an exaggerated place, in religious matters, to the intellect; and this is a danger from which Judaism has by no means always escaped. Judaism has very little sympathy to offer to the unlearned, the ignorant, the weak, the fallen,

the sinner. "This people that knoweth not the Law is accursed." It is in this respect that Christianity might do so much for Jewish religion, by infusing into it its own spirit and transforming it. It may, perhaps, be added that it is equally possible, unduly to depreciate the place of the intellect in matters religious, and that Judaism has something to teach us all in this respect.

The importance of the early training of children is a constant theme of discussion in Jewish literature. The dominant place of a definitely religious training is insisted upon throughout. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it" (Prov. 22^{6}), is re-echoed, in more prosaic language, in the *Talmud:* "If we do not keep our children to religion when they are young, we shall certainly not be able to do so in later years." And the Jewish teachers were the first to perceive that the means by which this could be accomplished was by a system of definite religious instruction in the elementary schools.

There is a famous Talmudical passage which is usually printed at the end of the treatise known as "The Ethics (or Sayings) of the Fathers" (*Pirke Aboth*), which might be entitled "The Ages of Man," or, at any rate, of the Jewish man. It runs as follows: "At five years old, Scripture; at ten, *Mishnah;* at thirteen, the Commandments; at fifteen, *Talmud;* at eighteen, the Bridal (marriage), etc." Such is the programme of Jewish education according to the *Mishnah,* but it is of necessity largely modified in practice.

As a matter of fact the religious training of the child began as soon as it could speak; and this is still the rule. Professor Schechter quotes a passage from one of the later *Midrashim,* which states the Talmudic rule well. Referring to a passage in Lev. $19^{23, 24}$, where it is forbidden to eat the fruits of a tree in the first three years, the *Midrash* goes on to say: "And this is also the case with the Jewish child. In the first three years the child is unable to speak, and therefore is exempted from every

religious duty ; but in the fourth year all its fruits shall be holy to praise the Lord, and the father is obliged to initiate the child in religious works." This latter duty is performed by the father, who teaches the child to repeat short verses of Scripture, such as the first verse of the " Shema' " ; " Hear, O Israel ; the Lord our God is One " (Deut. 6^4) ; or " Moses commanded us a *Torah*, the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob " (Deut. 33^4) ; as well as short prayers in Hebrew. In an interesting little book published a few years ago by Dr. Gaster, the head of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community in England, which is designed to introduce the sacred tongue to young children, and which he calls (after his own little boy, who first used it,) " Vivian's Hebrew Reader," [1] there is, at the end of the volume, a small collection of such prayers and blessings as a young child would begin to learn on entering its fourth year. They include prayers for morning and evening, the Ten Commandments, grace after meals, and various short blessings, the whole occupying in the Hebrew text about six and a half printed pages. There is also an English translation. Of course, so young a child would take some time to master all this, but it enables one to form some idea of the kind of instruction well-taught Jewish children receive. In his fourth year, too, a boy used to begin to accompany his parents to Synagogue, carrying their prayer-books.

Though the Law is not binding upon children, in the strict sense, it yet has been usual to accustom them to its requirements from an early age (at any rate, in strict Jewish families). Thus, the *Mishnah* directs the elders to enjoin upon children Sabbath observance (*Shabbath* xv, 6), and the instinctive feeling so engendered is obviously present in Jewish children to-day. One or two years before the legal age, fasting, preliminary to

[1] *Vivian's Hebrew Reader* is published by Greenberg & Co.

the requirements of the Day of Atonement, was to be begun (*Yoma* viii. 4). Children are also bound to the grace at table. Two great occasions in the Jewish year afford special opportunities for inculcating these precepts upon children—viz., on *Simchath Torah* (the " Rejoicing of the Law," a very joyous festival), and *Seder*-evening (Passover). In the earliest period, when the Temple was standing, boys were required to be present, at the tenderest age, at the chief festivals in the Great Sanctuary (*Chagigah* i, 1).[1] It may, perhaps, be inferred from Luke 2^{42} that those who dwelt at a distance from Jerusalem would not take part in the pilgrimages till their twelfth year.

The next great moment in the boy's history is when he enters school for the first time (from the fifth to the seventh year). This was formerly the occasion of much ceremony, which is worth describing, though it has long been abolished. " This day," we are told, " was celebrated by the Jews, especially in the Middle Ages, in such a way as to justify the high esteem in which they held the school. The school was looked upon as a second Mount Sinai, and the day on which the child entered it as the Feast of Revelation. Many different customs were connected with the day. According to one, it was fixed for the Feast of Weeks. Early in the morning, while it was still dark, the child was washed and dressed carefully. In some places they dressed it in a ' gown with fringes.' As soon as day dawned the boy was taken to the Synagogue, either by the father or by some worthy member of the community. Arrived at their destination, the boy was put on the *Almemar*, or reading-daïs, before the scroll of the Law, from which the narrative of the Revelation (Ex. 20^{2-26}) was read as the portion of the day. From the Synagogue the boy was taken to the house of the

[1] In the Sabbatical year they were brought to the Temple to be present at the reading of Deuteronomy by the King.

teacher, who took him into his arms. Thereupon a slate was brought, containing the alphabet in various combinations, the verse "Moses has commanded," etc. (Deut. 33 [4]), the first verse of the Book of Leviticus and the words 'The *Torah* will be my calling.' The teacher then read the names of the letters, which the boy then repeated. After the reading the slate was besmeared with honey, which the boy licked off. This was done in allusion to Ezek. 3[3], where it is said, 'And it (the roll) was in my mouth as honey for sweetness.' The boy was also made to eat a sweet cake, on which were written passages from the Bible relating to the importance of the study of the *Torah*. The ceremony was concluded by invoking the names of certain Angels, asking them to open the heart of the boy, and to strengthen his memory." [1]

IV. The "Cheder" and Religious Instruction.

The modern representative of the mediæval Jewish school is the *Cheder*, numbers of which exist in the East End of London. On this subject a sharp conflict has more than once within recent years arisen between the foreign-speaking Jews of East London and the Anglicized Jews of the West. *Cheder*, it may be explained, is a Hebrew word meaning "room," and the designation is strictly accurate in a great number of cases. The *Cheder* is the Hebrew school *par excellence*. It is attended by the children of foreign-speaking Jews who are anxious that their sons should have an adequate training in Hebrew. The boy attends from the age of six, or even earlier, and, as a rule, leaves at the age of thirteen, when he attains his religious majority according to Rabbinic Law. The curriculum includes the reading of Hebrew, translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew, and

[1] Schechter's *Studies, loc cit.*

of easy passages from the commentary of Rashi (1040–1105). He is also made familiar with the Jewish Prayer-Book, although, unhappily, this sometimes does not amount to more than a parrot-like repetition of formulas which are not understood. "In some of the better *Chedarim* Hebrew grammar is taught, and the more advanced pupils study the elements of ritual law."[1] Moral instruction is also not neglected, but is sometimes ineffective, owing to the laxity prevalent in the child's home. In this matter, home influence, as always, is the decisive factor. Undoubtedly, more Hebrew is learnt in the *Chedarim* than in the Jewish voluntary schools, or in the religious classes attached to those Public Elementary Schools where Jewish children attend in any numbers. A shilling a week for each boy is often paid by poor parents to the "melammid," or teacher, of the *Cheder*.

It should be added that the *Cheder* is a supplementary institution to the ordinary schools. For instance, a large number of the scholars of the Jewish Free School attend *Cheder* as well. The hours of attendance at *Cheder* vary, but generally pupils come for about half an hour before morning school to say their prayers, again for a few minutes at dinner-time to say the short afternoon service or a psalm or two, and again in the evening for two or three hours. Usually Saturday is a free-day; but two hours are given on Sunday.

The objections raised against this institution by some of the English Jews may be summarized under three heads: (1) that Yiddish is used as the medium of instruction; (2) that the rooms used are insanitary; and, (3), that the hours are too long. On the whole, the case against the *Chedarim* seems to break down. Yiddish, under present conditions, is a necessity. Moreover, English influences fully assert themselves both in the ordinary schools and

[1] H. S. Lewis, in *The Jew in London*.

in the whole environment of Jewish children living in England. Further, Mr. H. S. Lewis, in his interesting discussion of the whole question in the volume, "The Jew in London," has shown that the charge of insanitary conditions is largely exaggerated. It only applies to a few of the smaller *Chedarim* set up by newly arrived immigrants who are too poor to furnish the room properly. The larger *Chedarim* are usually fitted up like an ordinary schoolroom. Lastly, the hours of attendance have been grossly exaggerated. No doubt considerable improvement will be effected by the gradual displacement of Yiddish. When English is the medium of teaching, it may be hoped that the teaching of Hebrew will be more intelligent than is often the case at present. In time, too, a higher standard of competence will be demanded from the teachers. Even under existing conditions Hebrew is not at all badly taught, and it is astonishing to see with what fluency the average Jewish boy can read the sacred tongue. The strong point of the *Cheder* is the opportunities it affords for individual attention to the needs of the scholars. Altogether it seems to have in itself the making of an admirable and efficient institution, which may largely help to keep alive some of the best and most characteristic features in Jewish life and religion. Another institution, of a somewhat similar kind, is that of the *Talmud Torah* (an expression meaning "Study of the Law"). Its object is to teach Hebrew and Religion. It is maintained partly by pupils' fees, partly by subscriptions, and is managed by a committee of subscribers. The two principal East End institutions of the kind, situated in Whitechapel, are thus described by Mr. Lewis, writing in 1900:—

"At the larger of the two . . . there are about 1,000 pupils, and instruction is given through the medium of Yiddish. The other has over 600 pupils, and instruction is given in English. Both institutions are quite full, and children have to be refused admission for want of room

The fees paid vary according to the circumstances of the parents, but average about twopence per child. The children attend for about two hours each evening. Classes at the *Talmud Torah* are much larger than at a *Cheder*. A single master has often to teach forty pupils, and, of course, cannot give much individual attention. The teaching given, however, is very efficient, and has met with the approval of many educational experts." *Talmud Torah* classes, however, are not confined to the East End. In varying degrees of activity and efficiency they are to be found, as a rule, wherever a Jewish community exists.

V. Hebrew and Yiddish.

From this review of specifically Jewish educational institutions it will be apparent that Hebrew is by no means such a dead letter in Jewish circles as is sometimes assumed. The disappearance of Hebrew from the curriculum of popular Jewish instruction would, we venture to think, be a deplorable catastrophe. It would involve a wrench with the past which would permanently damage the Jewish character. The sacred tongue in which Jews all the world over read their Scriptures and chant their liturgies—which, too, enshrines such a wonderful literature besides—is the one unifying element that links together the scattered colonies of the Jewish Dispersion over the face of the earth.

No! If any change be made, let it rather be in the direction of enlarging and deepening the knowledge of the tongue in which the Prophets wrote and the Psalmists sang, and whose literature is the glory of the Jewish race. In this connexion it is gratifying to note that strenuous and successful efforts are being made by the heads of the Central Jewish Library in Jerusalem to revive Hebrew as a spoken language. These efforts are being seconded by the Chovevi Zion Societies.[1] The disappearance of

[1] Chovevi Zion = Lovers of Zion.

Yiddish in favour of the vernacular of the country would be another matter. From all points of view it is eminently desirable. Yiddish is a mere jargon, made up mostly of debased German, and dignified (or made ridiculous) by being written in Hebrew characters. It is the legacy of an unhappy period of isolation and degradation in Jewish history, which does not deserve to be thus perpetuated.

VI. " Bar-mitzvah."

The term means " Son of the Commandment," or Covenant, and is applied to a boy when he reaches the age of thirteen. Attainment of this age constitutes his religious majority, and he is henceforth bound by the whole Law and responsible for his deeds. On the Sabbath following his thirteenth birthday the boy is called up in the Synagogue to the Law, and he actually reads (or rather chants) the whole of the *Sidra* (i.e., lesson appointed), or else a portion of it, together with the blessings (or prayer formulas) that precede and follow.

To be called up to the Law in Synagogue is a mark of special distinction and honour, and is done for special reasons on special occasions. But it is quite an exceptional thing for the person so called up actually to chant the lesson, or a section of it. This is a matter of considerable difficulty, and requires special training, as the scrolls of the Law used in Synagogue are without vowel points and accents. The ordinary person is quite unequal to the task. Consequently, when a man is called up, he confines himself to saying the benedictions that precede and follow the section of the lesson which is allotted to him ; the actual chanting is done by the professional reader (*Chazzan*).

Therefore, the preparation of the boy for the Bar-mitzvah ceremony is somewhat elaborate. He has to be specially trained to chant (as a rule the whole of) the lesson from the Law, as well as the prophetic lesson, so that he can read both as correctly as the regular reader.

Sometimes, it is to be feared, the boy learns to chant the lessons without understanding them. The occasion is made one of great family rejoicing. The father of the *Bar-mitzvah* acts for the nonce as *Segan*, a kind of Synagogue warden, whose privilege it is to allot various small but much coveted duties to various members of the congregation in the Synagogue-service. The ceremony is, of course, followed by a family festival. Readers of Mr. Zangwill's books will remember his description of such occasions. The fixing of the age at thirteen in the case of a boy was determined according to the age at which manhood is reached in Eastern countries, where, as is well known, maturity is attained much earlier than in the colder countries of the North. Prof. Schechter, however, is of opinion that the fixing of the age at thirteen for the attainment of the majority (it was formerly the age of legal as well as religious majority) is due to the influence of Roman civil law. Be that as it may, it is practically certain that the ceremony of *Bar-mitzvah* was suggested by the Christian rite of Confirmation.

Some Jewish (Reform) congregations are quite frank in the matter, having adopted the name "confirmation" itself. At any rate, we are told that "it has become customary in some Synagogues to confirm Jewish girls who have gone through a training in the principles of Jewish religion." Girls, according to Jewish law, attain their religious majority one year earlier than boys.

VIII. Higher Instruction.

The centre of higher instruction in Jewish Law, Ritual and Religion, is the *Bēth Ha-Midrāsh* (i.e., "House of Study"). Here it is that the *Talmud* and higher branches of Jewish literature are taught and studied. This institution flourishes particularly in Russia at the present time. There it is attended by all Jewish youths between nine and sixteen years of age, and constitutes their main education. The study of Talmudic dialectic,

which is an amazing system of subtle and complicated distinctions, produces an extraordinary intellectual acuteness, as those who have ever attempted to reason with a Talmudist can testify. The London *Bēth-Hammidrash* has its library and offices in St. James's Place, Aldgate (close to the Great Synagogue). Classes are held in both German and English for the study of the *Talmud*, Bible with Commentaries and other branches of Jewish literature. There is also the Jews' College for the training of candidates for the Jewish Ministry, as well as various learned societies, which are enumerated in the Jewish Year Books.

CHAPTER XV.

The Education and Life of the Jew (*concluded*).

Marriage and Divorce—The Religious Position of Women—The Home—Death and Mourning.

I. Marriage and Divorce.

The next step in "the ages of the Jewish man" brings us to the eighteenth year of age and marriage. Here, again, the limit is rather low for northern climes. Other qualifications have to be considered, too, besides age. The great mediæval Rabbi, Moses ben Maimon (usually styled Maimonides), says, "Man should first secure a living, then prepare a residence, and after that seek a wife. But fools act otherwise; they marry first, then look out for a house, and at last think of the means of obtaining a livelihood" (cf. Deut. 20^{5-7}; 28^{30}).[1]

In the time of the *Mishnah* it was customary for the husband to execute a deed (called *Kethubah* or written agreement), which had to be signed by two witnesses. In this marriage contract, which still constitutes one of the essential parts of a Jewish wedding, and is read out at the synagogue ceremony, the bridegroom promises to honour and support his wife, and to present her with a certain sum, as settlement, of not less than 200 *zuzîm* (100 in the case of a widow), besides the bride's dowry.[2] This sum is to be paid in the case of the husband's death, or in the case of a divorce, which it thus serves to check.

The actual marriage ceremony was formerly preceded by the betrothal (called *Kiddûshîn*, lit. "Sanctifications"). The two were quite distinct ceremonies. The betrothal

[1] Mishneh-Torah, *Hil-Deoth* v, 11 (cited by Friedländer, *Jew. Rel.*[2] p. 483).

[2] Zuz is a Talmudic coin = 9½d. Cf. p. 249 note.

consisted of a solemn promise on the part of the future husband to take the betrothed, after a certain time, to his house as his wife ; and the betrothed, on her part, undertook to consider herself as his wife, and to prepare for the marriage. This usually took place twelve months after the formal betrothal. At present, as in our own marriage service, the two have been united into one. A glance at the Marriage Service in Singer's Prayer-Book (p. 238 f.), will show that it is divided into two parts by the reading of the *Kethubah*. The former of these represents the old betrothal service. The modern engagement, of course, is a different matter, corresponding to the agreement preliminary to the betrothal of former times. The actual betrothal is made in the following words by the bridegroom : " Behold, thou art consecrated (i.e., *betrothed*) to me by this ring, according to the Law of Moses and of Israel." While saying this he places a gold ring (an innovation in the Jewish ceremony)[1] on the second finger of the bride's right hand.

If the reader will look at the Prayer-Book he will notice that this formula is preceded by a blessing over wine : " Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Who createst the fruit of the vine." This is read by the officiating minister while holding a cup of wine in his hand, and is followed immediately by the *Birkath Erusin*, i.e., the " Blessing of Betrothal," in which God is praised for the institution of marriage : " Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who sanctifiest Thy people Israel by the rite of the canopy and the sacred covenant of wedlock."

It ought to be stated that the bride and bridegroom taste of the wine above mentioned. The mention of the canopy—or *Chuppāh*, to give it its Hebrew name—refers

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[1] Cf. Abrahams *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 183 ; and for the whole subject of wedding customs, chapters ix and x of the same volume.

to a picturesque element that characterizes all Jewish weddings.[1] The *Chuppah* is a canopy under which the marriage ceremony is performed. Its top is often composed of the curtain of the Ark of the Law, and this is supported by four posts, erected in the middle of the synagogue. Under it bride and bridegroom are led by their friends. In some countries a *Tallîth* is merely held over the heads of the contracting parties. It is now supposed to represent the future home of the newly married. The reader will notice that the future home is, according to this symbolism, roofed with sanctity.

After the solemn formula of betrothal, mentioned above, follows the reading of the *Kethûbāh* or marriage-settlement. This is read in either Aramaic or English. The Aramaic form is a very ancient one, and, no doubt, goes back for its origin to Palestine, when the Jews living there spoke Aramaic. Then follow the seven blessings,[2] the whole ceremony being concluded by the breaking of the wine-glass by the bridegroom. Formerly it was customary to use for this purpose a glass in which the *Kiddûsh* had been made, and it used to be thrown against the north wall of the synagogue ; but at the present time an ordinary wine-glass is used, which is simply broken beneath his foot by the bridegroom. It is also customary for the bridegroom, his father, and the bride's father, to be called up to the Law on the Sabbath preceding the ceremony. The banquet is graced by the usual wedding speeches. It was considered a special merit to speak on such an occasion. The bridegroom used to give a discourse on some Talmudical theme, if he was able to do so.

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[1] At the ceremony a minyān or quorum (i.e., ten adult males) must be present.

[2] The first of these (over wine) is followed by a glass of wine being handed to bride and bridegroom again. At the conclusion another (empty) glass is laid on the floor and stamped upon by the bridegroom. When he breaks it all present cry *Mazzal tôb* ("Good luck"). See further, Chap. xxi, § ix.

In Biblical and Talmudic times the feasting lasted seven days.

The undercurrent of solemnity, however, which has found manifold expression in Jewish marriage customs ought not to be overlooked. To this day the strict Jew ought, according to Dr. Friedländer, to keep the wedding-day " as a day of earnest reflection, of prayer and fasting, till after the ceremony, when the fast is broken and the rejoicing begins." This as a preparation for the new life on which bride and bridegroom are entering. Once it was even customary to strew ashes over the heads of the bridal pair during the wedding ceremony. " In Germany the bridegroom wore a cowl—a typical mourning garb," and " the bride wore over her more festive attire a white . . . shroud." [1]

This feature suggests a possible explanation of the mysterious glass-breaking to which allusion has already been made, and which has become the most striking feature associated with the ceremony. It will have been noticed that the glass-breaking comes immediately after the seventh of the marriage blessings, towards the end of the service (Singer, p. 299). Now the original custom was, at the conclusion of this blessing, for the Rabbi to pass a glass of wine to the bridegroom, and then to the bride, retaining the glass in his hand while they sipped its contents. After the bride had drained it, the Rabbi then handed the empty glass to the bridegroom, who turned round from facing east to the north, and hurled the glass at the north wall. This was the original custom. Nowadays the bridegroom simply takes an empty glass and crushes it under foot. But why was the glass originally hurled at the north side ? It seems possible to explain this from the symbolical significance of the north in the Old Testament. The north was regarded as the quarter whence evil or invasion arises (especially in Jeremiah,

[1] Abrahams', *op. cit.*, p. 187.

e.g., 1^{14-15}, and often), and also as the region in which Israel was exiled, and from which the exiles were to return. The breaking of the symbol of joy effected by hurling it in the direction of the north may thus be intended as a reminder that even a Jew's most joyful moments are dashed with the bitter reflection that Israel is still in exile. This is confirmed by the ending of the seventh blessing, which runs : " *Soon may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies, and of youths from their feasts of song.*" No doubt the general sentiment that all life's pleasures have a strain of sadness has also contributed to maintain the ceremony.

The sentiment thus in true Oriental fashion expressed, reminds one of the two last stanzas of Fitzgerald's " Omar " :—

> Yon rising moon that looks for us again—
> How oft hereafter will she wax and wane ;
> How oft hereafter, rising, look for us
> Through this same garden—and for *one* in vain !
>
> And when, like her, Oh Saki, you shall pass
> Among the guests star-scattered on the grass
> And in your joyous errand reach the spot
> Where I made one—turn down an empty glass.

Before leaving this subject, it may be mentioned, that a most interesting specimen of a fragment of what is possibly an old Jewish wedding-glass has been found in a Roman tomb, which probably belongs to the fourth century. " It bears an elaborate picture of the Temple, with the pillared porch of Solomon, the columns known as Jachin and Boaz, the seven-branched candlestick, and other typically Jewish emblems. There are two inscriptions in Greek (the language of the Jews in Rome for several centuries) : ' House of peace, take the blessing,' and ' Drink and live with all thine.' " [1] In the Middle

[1] Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 182. An engraving of this is given in Benzinger's *Archäologie*, p. 251.

Ages, also, Jewish betrothal rings often had a picture of Temple or Synagogue engraved on them.

It should be noted that Jewish marriages are forbidden between Passover and Pentecost—certain days being excepted (e.g., the 33rd in Omer—Iyar 18th). The Romans, also, did not marry in May—to which fact the modern custom may owe its origin.[1]

Another Jewish institution connected with marriage, which must not be passed over, is that of the Shadchân (match-maker, desponsator), or Jewish marriage-broker. He will be a familar figure to readers of Mr. Zangwill.

The following short description of this personage must here suffice : " Owing to the early age at which marriages used to be solemnized among Jews, it became customary to have the matches made up by the relatives or friends, and ultimately a special person undertook to bring appropriate parties together with a view to marriage. Also, from the same cause, the chief circumstance to be considered in the matter was the dowry and the settlement to be given by the bridegroom, and the *Shadchân* or match-maker, gradually devoted his chief attention to these mundane matters. In reward for his trouble it became the custom for him to claim a certain percentage of the settlement. Many Rabbis were glad to act as *Shadchānîm* without any remuneration, as it is a special *mitzvah* to promote marriages among the daughters and sons of Israel. The institution of *Shadchān*—which is still active among certain classes of Jews—often leads to much dissatisfaction, which at times finds expression in the civil courts."[2]

Divorce.—Before discussing the subject of divorce, a word must be said on the status of marriage in general among the Jews. It is more or less well known that polygamy was formally abolished among the Jews by the great Rabbi Gershom (960–1028), who prohibited bigamy

[1] Cf. Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 182. [2] *Jewish Year Book.*

on pain of ex-communication, and forbade the forcible divorce of the wife, and actually won acceptance for these enactments (though issued on his own authority alone) from the Jews in Europe. "Since his days monogamy has been the law as well as the custom of all Western Jews."[1]

But it is a mistake to suppose that polygamy had been prevalent among the Jews to any great extent before this time.

In dealing with the whole question of the status of women, of marriage and divorce, it is necessary to remember that Jewish practice has always been ahead of Jewish Law. Legally, the position of Jewish women in all these matters is very low, but in reality this is by no means the case. Leaving out of consideration the Old Testament (where, though polygamy is treated as tolerable, monogamy is clearly pointed to as the better way) it may be remarked that the New Testament gives no hint that Jewish practice was other than monogamous.

The same is true of the *Talmud*—monogamy is presupposed throughout. "Of the array of Rabbis named in the *Talmud*," says Mr. Israel Abrahams, "not a solitary instance can be found of a bigamist. Constant references are made in Rabbinical literature to a man's *wife*, never once to his *wives*."

A few of the Rabbinical sayings on the topic of marriage and the married state are worth noting. "Not money but character is the best dowry of a wife"; "When his wife dies, a man's world is darkened, his step is slow, his mind is heavy; she dies in him, he in her"; "A man must not make a woman weep, for God counts her tears"; "Marriages are made in Heaven."

On the other hand, the *Talmud* (quoting the example of Ahab) warns against following the advice of a wife (*Baba Metzia*, 59^a); a domineering wife, according to the same authority, makes life not worth living (Bêtza, 32^b).

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[1] Abrahams, *op. cit. ibid.*

The Jewish woman thus in reality has always occupied a more dignified position than her legal status would seem to suggest. It is necesary to bear this point in mind in estimating the *Divorce Laws*.

It is well-known that according to the Mosaic Law (Deut. 24^{1} f.) a man could divorce a wife if she found "no favour in his eyes." In the time of our Lord the practical interpretation of this law was a subject of controversy between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai. One of the test questions put to our Lord was concerned with this subject: "The Pharisees also came unto Him tempting him, and saying unto Him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" How our Lord dealt with it is also described (Matt. 19^{1-12}). The school of Shammai took the strict, that of Hillel the lax, view. According to the latter, a man might divorce his wife if she even spoilt his food! while Rabbi Akiba (second century), the most prominent Rabbi of his time, went so far as to say that a man might put away his wife if he had found another fairer than she! (*Gittin* ix, 10.) But it must not be imagined that such laxity was ever reduced to practice. There is no reason to suppose that Rabbi Akiba's dictum was meant seriously. He was addicted to drawing strict logical conclusions even when they landed him in a palpable absurdity. It is quite certain that his dictum was never reduced to practice among the Jews as a customary law.

The tendency in practice was to discourage Divorce as much as possible, and to place as many obstacles as could be in its way. Thus a man was not allowed to divorce his wife until he had paid the settlement mentioned in the *Kethûbāh* or marriage-settlement. About the year 1000 A.D. (when monogamy was legally established by Rabbi Gershom) it was further enacted that the wife could not be divorced against her will, unless for a specific cause—e.g., unfaithfulness. A wife who obstinately refused to follow her husband to a new home was liable

to divorce. It must be admitted that the Mediæval Church occasionally permitted departures from the monogamous principle of an analogous kind. Thus Mr. Abrahams quotes the Church Council of Vermene (A.D. 752) which seems to have enacted that " when a wife refused to accompany her husband on a journey, the husband might marry again, if he had no hope of returning home." [1] But such license was extremely exceptional, as a perusal of the article " Marriage " s.v. Divorce, in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (to which Mr. Abrahams appeals) will show. Still, ecclesiastical enactments, it must be confessed, have by no means always displayed the strictness of our Lord's rule.

The Rabbinical Law also permitted divorce and re-marriage, if a wife had been forcibly captured and the husband thus deprived of her society ; or if a wife deserted her husband or refused to join him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. If the wife became insane or infirm it was thought kinder to permit the husband to commit a bigamous marriage than to insist on divorce.

What has just been said regarding Jewish practice applies only to Western Jews. In Mohammedan lands monogamy was by no means the rule. " In the East, as well as in Spain under the Moors, in the Levant and Southern Italy, the monogamous enactment of Rabbi Gershom was never formally recognized by the Jews." [2] Among the Jews of Spain bigamy prevailed as late as the fourteenth century. A European Jew, however, who settled in the East, was bound by Rabbi Gershom's decree. It must always be remembered, however, that polygamy can never (even in Mohammedan countries) be practised by the majority, owing to its expense. In any case, however, it weakens the moral fibre of a community where it is sanctioned, and in this respect the Oriental Jews are on a lower plane than the European. In earlier

[1] Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 117. [2] Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 118. f.

times initative in the matter of divorce was not allowed to the Jewish woman. The only apparent contradiction to this rule known to the writers is found in Mark $10^{11, 12}$, where the words ascribed to our Lord, forbidding re-marriage after divorce, speak not only of a husband putting away his wife, but contemplate the possibility of a wife putting away her husband ("And if a woman shall put away her husband," etc.). But in the parallel passages in Matt. 5^{32}, and Luke 16^{18}, the second clause about the woman putting away her husband is absent; its presence in St. Mark's Gospel seems due to Roman influence, under which our Lord's precept has been extended to meet the possibilities of Roman Law. The latter allowed the wife as well as the husband to take the initiative. This feature in the second Gospel is thus an interesting confirmation of the theory that it was intended primarily for Roman or Latin Christians.

The later Rabbis, however, permitted the wife to claim divorce if ill-treated by her husband, or if he changed his religion, or if he had to leave his country to avoid the consequences of crime.[1]

At all times divorce could only be carried out by the proper and formal execution of a document called in the Bible a "bill of divorcement," and by the later Jews *Gēt*. The later Rabbinical legislation made the writing and delivery of this document difficult and protracted, "in order (says Dr. Friedländer) to facilitate attempts at reconciliation." The ceremony of divorce is as follows: The husband, in the presence of ten witnesses, hands the *Gēt* to his wife. Both parties are formally questioned—the husband as to whether he has made any vow forcing him to the act, from which he can have dispensation; the

[1] Apparently divorces, conditional on the husband's non-return from abroad within three or more years, are not unknown, even in modern days. For the *Gēt* in modern Jewry *cf.* in Zangwill's *They that Walk in Darkness*, the story entitled "Incurable."

wife also is asked whether she is willing to accept the divorce. The *Gēt* is framed as follows: "On such a day, of such a month, of such a year (era of Creation), I, such an one, son of such an one, from such a place, and by whatever other name or surname, I, or my parent, or my birthplace are known by, of my own will and purpose and without compulsion, dismiss, quit, repudiate thee, such an one, daughter of such an one, from such a place, and by whatever other name or surname, thou, or thy parent, or thy birthplace art known by, who up to this time hast been my wife. And now I dismiss, quit, and repudiate thee that thou be free, and have the power of going away with any other man. And no one on earth is to hinder thee from this day forward for ever. And now, behold, thou art permitted to be the wife of any man. And this is to be thy bill of divorce, the instrument of thy dismissal, and the letter of thy quittance, according to the law of Moses and of Israel." (Then follow the signatures of two witnesses.) [1]

It should be added that a divorced woman may not marry again within ninety days.

The law of monogamy was made somewhat difficult to adjust by the Mosaic enactment with regard to the brother of a deceased husband (who died childless) marrying the widow. The technical name for such a marriage of obligation is *Yibbûm* or *Yebāmāh*. The duty might, however, be refused (Deut. 25^{5-10}; cf. Ruth 4^{7}), and the refusal is known from the ceremony formerly accompanying it, as *Chalîtzāh* (lit., "removal," viz., of the shoe). In practice, the *Yibbûm* (which, of course, might involve bigamy) is never carried out; but *Chalîtzah* is often resorted to. *Chalîtzah* is looked upon as a sort of divorce: and until *Chalîtzah* is given the widow cannot marry

[1] An exact facsimile of the original of such a document can be seen in Surenhusius, *Mishnah*, iii, 324; Dr. Dalman also gives the Aramaic text of one in his *Aramäische Dialektproben und Lesestücke*, p. 5.

again. It must also be given personally in the presence of the two parties. As the brother-in-law, in some cases, is living a great distance away, the obligation is sometimes rather irksome.[1]

It should be noted also that a divorced woman—whether by *Get* or *Chalîtzah*—cannot marry a *Cohen.* With regard to the practice of English Jews, the facts are as follows: Following the Talmudic rule that "the law of the country is binding upon them," the English Jews "abide by the decisions of the civil courts of the country." Marriages, therefore, that would not have the sanction of the laws of the country are not solemnized; nor is *Gēt* granted unless divorce has been decreed by the civil courts. But in both cases it is considered essential to supplement the civil forms by the religious.

On the other hand, marriages allowed by the civil law, but which are contrary to Jewish religious law, are not recognised by Jewish religious authority. Thus mixed marriages (i.e., marriages between Jews and non-Jews), are spoken of by Dr. Friedländer as sinful, "and," he adds, "the issue of such alliances must be treated as illegitimate. Those who love their religion, and have the well-being of Judaism at heart, will do their utmost to prevent the increase of mixed marriages."

We have purposely left to the last the question of wife desertion, which constitutes the one blot upon the otherwise happy conjugal relations of a large section of the Jewish community in East London. It is still a matter of frequent occurrence among the foreign Jews in London, and in reality, has its roots deep down in the history of the past, and is one of the indirect consequences of persecution.

Mr. Israel Abrahams thus describes the evil as it existed in the Middle Ages:—

"Wife desertion was an evil which it was harder to deal with, for, owing to the unsettlement of Jewish life

[1] It is now often neglected.

under continuous persecution, the husband was frequently bound to leave home in search of a livelihood, and, perhaps, to contract his service for long periods to foreign employers. The husband endeavoured to make ample provision for his wife's maintenance during his absence, or, if he failed to do so, the wife was supported at the public cost, and the husband compelled to refund the sum so expended. These absences grew to such abnormal lengths that in the twelfth century it became necessary to protect the wife by limiting the absence to eighteen months, an interval which was only permitted to husbands who had obtained the formal sanction of the communal authorities. On his return the husband was compelled to remain at least six months with his family before again starting on his involuntary travels." [1]

Now, of course, there is no longer any persecution, at any rate in this country, and the "communal authority" has nothing like coercive power. Still the case of the absentee-husband, who has gone away in search of work, is quite a common one. The deserted wife then appeals to the Jewish Board of Guardians. In some of these cases there is no question of the husband really abandoning the wife. He intends ultimately to return, or to enable her to go to him. It has often been discovered that there is collusion between husband and wife, especially when, e.g., the husband has been obliged to emigrate to South Africa or America for the sake of health. There are other cases also, where real desertion does take place, the husband seeking to escape his family responsibilities by flight. He is, probably, out of work at the time, and thinks, perhaps, that the starving wife and children will secure charitable assistance more easily in his absence. The Jewish Board of Guardians, however, refuses to encourage this idea, and in such cases generally feels compelled to withhold charitable assistance.

[1] Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Lastly, there is the worst type of desertion, viz., in order to get rid of the English wife and secure another. To evade the strict provisions of English law, the unscrupulous go abroad, where, it must be remembered, they have been accustomed to a much greater facility of divorce than is permitted here. Such cases are, however, we believe, not so numerous as is sometimes imagined. The higher sentiment and nobler practice of the Jews has always asserted itself strongly against divorce. By way of justification for this assertion the noble words of Rabbi Eliezer, which form the conclusion in the *Gemara* to the Talmudic treatise *Gittin*, may here be quoted. Rabbi Eliezer is there reported to have said: "Even the altar drops tears when a man divorces the wife and companion of his youth, for thus it is written (Mal. ^{13,14}): 'And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping and with crying out. . . . Yet ye say, wherefore? Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth against whom thou hast dealt treacherously, although she is thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant.'"

II. The Religious Position of Jewish Women.

With regard to the religious position of Jewish women, it is generally assumed that this is a very low one. Every one knows that one of the blessings assigned to men in the Synagogue service runs: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast not made me a woman" (Singer, p. 6). And no doubt there is a certain amount of truth in this widely-held notion. But the bald statement of woman's inferiority in religious matters requires some qualification and explanation.

According to Jewish ideas, the special and supreme sphere of woman is the home. There her position has always been one of unchallenged dignity. Public affairs and public activities lie outside the home—and therefore

outside woman's special sphere. Consequently in public worship her *rôle* has been a purely passive one.

The general principle applied to women was "The King's daughter within the palace is all glorious" (Ps. 45^{14}), but *not* outside of it.[1] This maxim is the Rabbinical equivalent of: "Let the women keep silence in the churches." The duties of the home were felt to be incompatible with the rigorous demands of public service. Therefore women were not bound by the affirmative precepts of the Law.

Still, the religious feeling that is the common possession of Jewish as well as of other women was bound to assert itself; and it did so from time to time in various ways.

That woman has played no mean part in Jewish religious history can easily be shown. With regard to the Old Testament, it is only necessary to mention such names as those of Hannah, Deborah, and the great woman of Shunem. The latter evidently attended some form of worship presided over by the prophet on festivals and Sabbaths (cf. Kings. 4^{23}: "Wherefore wilt thou go to the prophet? it is neither new moon nor Sabbath").

It may be remarked in passing that "the new moon was especially a woman's holiday, and was so observed even in the Middle Ages, for the women refrained from doing work on that day. The explanation given by the Rabbis," says Professor Schechter, "is that when the men broke off their golden earrings to supply material for the golden calf, the women refused to contribute their trinkets, for which good behaviour a special day of repose was granted to them. Some Kabbalists even maintain that the original worshippers of the golden calf continue to exist on earth, their souls having successively migrated into various bodies, while their punishment consists in this, that they are ruled over by their wives."[2] In the time of the second Temple we have Esther (who according to

[1] Schechter, *Studies*, p. 391. [2] Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

tradition addressed a long extempore prayer to God before presenting herself before the throne of Ahasuerus to plead her people's cause; women were always enjoined to attend the reading of the Book of Esther) and Judith; and in Maccabees mention is made of "the women girt with sack cloth, and the maidens who, holding up their hands to heaven, made supplication." It is well known that in the second Temple the women had a special court. Galleries around this court were reserved for their special use, and Professor Schechter thinks that the arrangement of the Synagogue, by which women have a special gallery or part partitioned off for their use, was modelled on this. It was in the Court of the Women that the King every seven years publicly read certain portions of the Law, and women were expected to attend this function.

It is interesting, also, to note that though, according to the Law, women were exempted from putting their hands on the victim (in sacrifice), yet according to an eye-witness, they were allowed to do so if they desired it, the reason alleged being "to give calmness of the spirit, or satisfaction, to women." Coming to the Synagogue, ancient epitaphs attest the fact that certain women, probably by their religious zeal in charity (bestowal of kindness), earned such titles as "Mistress of the Synagogue" and "Mother of the Synagogue." In the Synagogue women said the eighteen Benedictions (*Shemoneh 'Esreh*). But instances are on record that they sometimes offered short prayers composed by themselves as well. Professor Schechter cites the following as an example.

Rabbi Jochanan relates that one day he observed a young girl fall on her face and pray, "Lord of the world, Thou hast created Paradise, Thou hast created hell, Thou hast created the wicked, Thou hast created the righteous. May it be Thy will that I may not serve as a stumbling-block to them."

What seems to have much curtailed women's religious privileges in the Synagogue is the dictum of a famous

Rabbi known as Rabbi Eliezer (second century, early), who, apparently on moral grounds, thought it inexpedient that women should study the Law. Though other Rabbis were found who did not share Eliezer's views on this matter, his advice was followed by later generations, and became the rule in education. "The fact that women were exempted from certain affirmative laws, which become operative only at certain seasons—e.g., the taking of the palm-branch on the Feast of Tabernacles—must also (to use Professor Schechter's words) have contributed to weaken their position as a religious factor in Judaism."

Sometimes women compensated themselves in their own way. "The daughters of Israel," we are told, "were stringent, and laid certain restrictions on themselves." They were also allowed to form a quorum by themselves for the purpose of saying grace, but they could not be counted with males for this end. It must not be supposed that women allowed themselves to be debarred from attending service at Synagogue. The Talmudic tractate *Soferîm* informs us that even "the little daughters of Israel were accustomed to go to the Synagogue." A curious instance of women asserting themselves in this direction meets us in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, apparently, it became quite general for women, as they did not know Hebrew, to pray in the vernacular. Apparently in the sixteenth century this custom had died out, for we find a Rabbi of that period regretting its cessation. "When they prayed in the vernacular," he says, "they understood what they were saying, whilst now they only gabble off their prayers." [1]

A later compromise in this direction meets us in the so-called "Supplications," which form a supplement to the ordinary liturgy, are written in German, and are largely

[1] Cf. Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 334 f.

the composition of women. Professor Schechter mentions that in one of these collections in the British Museum he has discovered a special supplication for servant-maids, and also for their mistresses.

There are also devotional manuals for women, written in German, on the so-called three women's commandments (which deal with purity, charity, and the lighting of the Sabbath lamp). In Russia, too, the numerous prayer-books issued with the Hebrew text and Yiddish translation are mainly intended for the use of the praying women (as most male Jews in Russia read and understand Hebrew with ease). In this connexion a curious institution has grown up, viz., that of the *Vorsagerin*, or woman-reader, who reads the prayers and translates them into the vernacular for the benefit of the less learned. In Poland or Russia, every Synagogue has such a woman-reader, while they are not unknown, it is believed, even in London.

One other point may also be mentioned here, viz., that according to Rabbi Bachrach women used to say *Kaddish* in the Synagogue when their parents left no male posterity.

It has already been remarked that in certain reform congregations the custom has grown up in recent years of confirming girls ; mixed choirs in the same communities are also an innovation. Speaking of the composition of the congregations of the present East End Synagogues, Mr. Lewis in *The Jew in London*, draws a contrast between that of the average church, where women and children preponderate, and that of the East End Synogogue where they are in a large minority. The contrast is significant. It suggests that Christianity has much more to offer women than Judaism. The same feature must strike any attentive reader of the New Testament. It is not the least evidence of the power of the religion of the Incarnation and the religion of Love. Mr. Lewis goes on to remark : " The wife of the East End Jew does

not attend Synagogue very often. Her chief duty is to train up her children well and religiously, to keep a *Kosher*-house, and to practice that bestowal of kindnesses to which Judaism attaches more importance than mere almsgiving." The weak point in modern Judaism's attitude on this subject is that it does not attach nearly sufficient importance to the definite religious training of the woman, whose " chief duty is to train up her children well and religiously." In such training, religious responsibility is an essential element.

The same contrast between woman's irresponsible position in public worship on the one hand, and her domestic dignity on the other, is reflected in the Jewish Prayer-Book. On the one side we have the Synagogue Benediction, " Blessed art Thou, O Lord . . . who hast not made me a woman" (Singer, p. 6) ; on the other, the splendid tribute to the woman of worth, taken from the last chapter of Proverbs, which is chanted by the master of the house at home on the eve of the Sabbath (" A woman of worth who can find ? For her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband trusteth in her," etc. See Singer, p. 123).

III. The Jewish Home.

This serves as an excellent transitional to the consideration of the Jewish Home. We have already spoken of the large place occupied by the home in the affections of the orthodox Jew. Its characteristic features could hardly be summed up better than in the following paragraph of Mr. Lewis's essay. " The beauty of Jewish home life (he says) has always struck the outside observer. This is primarily due to religious influence ; for Judaism consecrates the home, which is the sphere of some of its most touching ceremonials. Friday evening, which ushers in the Sabbath, is in particular a family festivity, as all readers of *Daniel Deronda* will remember. Jewish children, sent for a fortnight's holiday in the

country, and living for the time amongst Christians, have often told me how they miss the usual family gathering, when the Sabbath lamp is lighted, the cup of wine is drunk, and the father pronounces a blessing upon his children (see Singer, p. 122). It is no exaggeration to say the happiest hours of a Jew's life are those spent within his home; and family ties are in consequence much stronger among Jews than in the outside world. This fact will help to explain one of the means by which Judaism resists the tendency to assimilation. Although neither the knowledge nor the practice of religion comes by inheritance, yet Judaism is strengthened by forces of early association and ancestral love." [1]

IV. Death and Mourning.

On the approach of death the afflicted one makes religious preparation. An order of prayer to be said by a sick person may be seen in Singer, p. 314 f. It consists of a number of psalms (Pss. 23, 103, 139), followed by a confession of sin (Singer, p. 316). A fuller form of confession on a death-bed is given in Singer, p. 317.[2] At this solemn moment some communal friends and neighbours are usually present. Visiting the sick, administering words and deeds of kindness, praying with and for them, form a definite religious duty (*Biqqur Cholim*). In every congregation there is a special guild which definitely undertakes these duties, and it is known as "The Guild

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[1] *The Jew in London*, p. 181 f.

[2] The last words of the dying are the *Shema'*: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." As is well known, many superstitions centre round the *Malākh ha-Māveth*, or Angel of Death, among the Jews. One may be mentioned here. According to popular Jewish notions, no man can die unless the Angel of Death summons him. "As he is supposed to have a writ from the Most High, in which the person who is to die is mentioned by name, as a last resource, in very rare instances, it is customary for Jews to have their names solemnly changed when at their last gasp." (*Jewish Year Book.*)

for Visiting the Sick." When death occurs, friends and relatives give expression to grief. Those who have been present use the Benediction of Resignation to the Divine Will: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who art the true Judge." Others (who have not been present) also use this formula on hearing the news. This declaration is also accompanied by the rending of the garment.[1] The outer garment is cut and left unbound during the thirty days of mourning. The mourners (father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister), in order to be able to devote all their time to the preparation for burial, are freed from all religious obligations till after that event.

Two or three days usually intervene between death and burial, during which time mourners abstain from wine and meat. (In Palestine and the East burial takes place on the day of death.)

Every act of attention to the dead is considered a work of piety, and every congregation has a guild whose members devote themselves to fulfilling these duties. It is known as the Holy Guild (*Chevrah Kadishah*). Among the *Sefardim* such persons are called *Lavadores* (a Spanish word = "washers"). The late Sir Moses Montefiore (we are told) belonged for a long time to the guild of *Lavadores*, and frequently performed the duties attached to the office.[2] From the moment of death till burial the corpse is not left alone. The duty of watching over and preparing the dead for burial is not, however, now, as a rule, performed by volunteers as formerly, but by professional watchers, generally four in number, who are called *Wacher* (German = "watchers").

These burial societies can be traced back, apparently, to the fourth century. In the earlier period the burial of the dead was a duty undertaken by the whole community.

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[1] The rending of the garment is confined to mourners.

[2] *Jewish Year Book* (1897–98), p. 202.

"All who pass by when one is buried," says Josephus, "must accompany the funeral and join in the lamentation." In Babylonia this was carried so far that when a death in the Jewish community was announced every Jew ceased from work and assisted in the preparations for the funeral. In some Jewish congregations this custom has survived to comparatively modern times. Thus we are told that "in 1730 all shops were shut in Sofia whenever a Jew died." [1] It was also customary to pour all the water out of the house where the dead lay unburied. It is well known that a *Cohen* is not permitted to be present in the same place as a dead body, except in the case of near relatives (Lev, 21^{1-3}). It may be remembered that the Chief Rabbi (who is a *Cohen*) was unable to be present in St. Paul's Cathedral at the funeral of Bishop Creighton and was represented on the occasion by Dr. Gollancz. The preparations for burial include the cleansing and robing of the body. The cleansing was formerly preparatory to an anointing with oil. But this custom has now disappeared. The burial robes are all of white; in the Middle Ages they were red. They include the *sargonas* and the *talith*. The *sargonas* (Germ. *Sarg* = "coffin") is a white shroud, and in some countries it is the custom for the bride to present her husband with this article on the wedding day. It is worn by the husband on New Year's Day (*Rosh Hashanah*), the Day of Atonement, and on *Seder* evening (in some cases). On the day of the funeral the body is borne to the cemetery, or *Beth Chayyim* (="House of Life"). Attached to this is a kind of mortuary chapel (called the "Hall" in Singer's Prayer-Book), where the service is said.[2] Mr. Zangwill (in *They that Walk in Darkness*, p. 233,) calls it "the House of the Priests."

"In Talmudic times," we are told, "the body was

[1] Cf. Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[2] Singer, p. 318 ff.

carried on a bier to the burial place, and placed in the ground so as to be in contact with it, either the side or the bottom of the coffin being removed for that purpose, but Jewish coffins are now enclosed." [1] On the principle that Death is the great leveller, great simplicity is aimed at in Jewish funerals. Simple deal coffins are, as a rule, used for rich and poor alike. Sometimes emblems were used suitable to the special character of the deceased—e.g., scrolls of the Law would be placed on the coffin of a distinguished teacher, or a *Chuppah* on that of a betrothed person. In the past, too, it was customary for women, among them professional mourners, to follow. But Jewish ladies of the family do not now, as a rule, go to the burial ground.

In the Ghettos the *Beth Chayyîm*, or cemetery, was usually quite close—in the Jewish quarter, in fact. According to Jewish Law, however, it must be at least fifty paces from the nearest Jewish house. But the Jewish cemetery was not always close at hand. Thus at one time, in England, the only available Jewish cemetery was in London, and the corpse, in consequence, had to be conveyed sometimes from considerable distances. It is interesting to note that the existence of such a cemetery in Wood Street is attested in the *Patent Roll* of 1285.[2]

According to the *Talmud*, it is supremely desirable for the pious Jew to die and be buried in the land of Israel. "The land of Israel"—one passage runs—"is as dough compared to Babylon, except in the matter of burial" (*Kethuboth*, 110[b]). Indeed one Rabbi declares that "the dead outside the land of Israel will not live again." Accordingly we read of many pious Jews emigrating to the Holy Land in order to have the privilege of dying there. In Mr. Zangwill's book, *They that Walk in Darkness*, there is a pathetic study of this type, entitled, "To die in

[1] *Jewish Year Book.*
[2] Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 77 f.

Jerusalem" (p. 111 f.). The difficulty about those who die outside the Holy Land has given rise to a fantastic superstition. It is believed by some that on the morning of the Resurrection, which will take place at Messiah's advent, when the great trumpet shall sound and the dead arise, those Israelites who have been buried outside the Holy Land will have to undertake a long subterranean journey and dig and burrow their way to the land of Israel. For this long passage underground, the Polish Jews, it is said, still provide their dead with little wooden forks, with which to dig their way.[1]

Mourning.—After the burial the mourners return home and keep seven days of mourning, known as *Shiva* (Hebrew = "seven"). During this period it is customary for them to abstain from work and sit upon the ground, on cushions, or on low seats. This is known as "sitting *Shiva*." On the day of the funeral they return home to a repast prepared for them by friends, a principal item in which is hard-boiled eggs, which are supposed to be a symbol of life. These "meals of condolence" are continued, and consolatory visits made by friends during the whole seven days. On Sabbath, however, there is a break; they no longer sit on the ground. From the eighth day to the end of the month mourning of a less severe character is continued by the relatives (altogether thirty days). But on the part of the children this lasts till the end of the year. The son of the deceased is expected to say *Kaddish* for a parent in the Synagogue every morning and evening for eleven months afterwards. A father, however, cannot say *Kaddish* for a son. The funeral oration is spoken either at the grave, or in the house of mourning, or in the Synagogue. In Mr. Zangwill's *King of the Schnorrers*, this *rôle* was fulfilled by a remarkable character known as "Rabbi Remorse Red Herring." Another function which now plays a

[1] Hershon. *Rabb. Comm. on Genesis*, p. 283, note.

large part in Jewish life is the " Setting of the tombstone," which generally takes place some months after the funeral. A special service is provided for this in the Prayer-Book (Singer, p. 325 f.). A description of one is given in Mr. Zangwill's *They that Walk in Darkness*, p. 233. The obituary columns of the *Jewish Chronicle* are filled with the dates of these functions. In mentioning the name of a deceased friend it is customary to add some such formula as " Peace be upon him," or " His memory be for a blessing," or " The memory of the righteous be for a blessing," or " may his rest be Eden." The Hebrew equivalents of these expressions are usually abbreviated in writing. Sometimes another pious formula is used, viz. : " May so and so live," or " May his light continue to shine."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Synagogue and the Sacred Year and Calendar.

The Synagogue; its Arrangement; Officers; Services—Arrangement of Calendar—Dates of the Festivals and Fasts—The Jewish Era.

I. The Synagogue.

The name Synagogue is a Greek one meaning "assembly"; its Hebrew equivalent is *Beth ha-keneseth*, i.e. "House of Assembly," a term, however, which does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. The conclusion to draw from these facts is that the Synagogue did not define itself as an institution till the Greek period, i.e., the period subsequent to the conquests of Alexander the Great, B.C. 323. By the time of the New Testament, as everybody knows, Synagogues had become a widespread institution, and it was owing to their existence that Judaism was able to perpetuate itself after the destruction of the Temple.

Ancient Synagogues were arranged differently from the modern. In the Talmudic period they seem to have been modelled on the Temple—the entrance was from the east, and the Ark containing the scrolls of the law was in the west. In the modern Synagogue the position is exactly reversed—the Ark is placed in the east end, and the reader, while on the *Bema*, faces east.

The form of the Synagogue is not fixed—it is sometimes round, in other cases octagonal. The Great Synagogue in Duke Street, Aldgate, London, is of the latter shape. It reminds one somewhat of a basilica. At the east end, in a large recess covered by a curtain, and fronted with circular marble steps (which are surrounded by a rail of massive brass, with gates), is the Ark. Round the other three sides the seats for the congregation are arranged. In the centre is the *Bema* or *Almembar* (an Arabic word corrupted into *Almemar* or

Alemmar), i.e. the raised platform with rails from which the prayers are said and the Law is read. Galleries run round the three sides. In the Great Synagogue, the north and south galleries are reserved for the women; the west for the choir (of male voices). The women's gallery up to comparatively recent times had a grille, —but now it is quite open. Sometimes the women's part consisted of a separate room, with just a small opening into the Synagogue, but otherwise entirely separate. The Ark is kept, as has already been pointed out, in a recess in the east end, which is called the *Hekal* (i.e. Temple), or *Kodesh* (i.e. sanctuary). In the Great Synagogue this is enclosed with folding doors, in front of which hangs the double curtain, which is drawn back when the *Hekal* is opened. In front of this again is suspended the *Ner Tamid* or perpetual lamp, which is always kept lighted. On the right of the *Hekal* is the door leading to the vestry. The fronts of the galleries of the Great Synagogue are garnished with Hebrew inscriptions, enumerating various charitable bequests given by deceased members of the congregation.

The Ark is called in the *Mishnah* and by the *Sefardim Tebhah*, i.e. *chest* or *coffer*, to distinguish it from the *Ark of the Covenant* (Hebrew *Arōn*). But in modern Hebrew the latter term (*Aron*) is commonly employed.

It was customary in the earlier period " on certain extraordinary occasions, when, on account of the absence of rain, a general fast was ordered, for the *tebhah* with a *sefer-torah* in it, to be carried into the street, where a special service was held."

" The *Sefer-Torah* (book of the law) is a parchment scroll in which the whole Pentateuch is written by hand upon calfskin or sheepskin, with an ink made of lampblack, in the Hebrew text, and in the so-called square or Assyrian character, without vowel points, accents, or verse divisions, but the paragraphs are marked according to the *Masorah*, or tradition of the text, some

by starting on a new line, some by leaving a shorter or longer blank in the same line. The scroll is mounted on wooden rollers, is first wrapped in a white band, and then encased in a silk or velvet robe. A silver hand for pointing is hung by a cord or chain; often silver ornaments are placed on the heads of the rollers. Every Synagogue of any pretensions has three or more scrolls of its own" (Dembitz). The moment, in the Sabbath morning service, when the Ark is opened and the scroll solemnly taken out by the reader and carried to the *Bema*, is the most solemn one in the service and is marked by an impressive ceremony.

A striking feature about the Synagogue is the absence of anything in the nature of pictures or pictorial emblems. Nothing in the nature of images, portraits, or statues representing living beings, whether real or imaginary, is to be seen. For such symbolism the Jew is altogether unprepared, and in order that he should not misunderstand it a long process of preliminary education would be necessary. The only thing one sees is Hebrew inscriptions—texts from scripture or charitable bequests. The device, however, known as "the shield of David" (*Māgēn David*), made by two interlaced triangles forming a six-pointed star, is occasionally seen in the decoration.[1] But it is doubtful whether this is of Jewish origin. Another noticeable feature is the absence of instrumental music. The labour involved in producing such music is held (according to Rabbinical law) to be incompatible with the Sabbath rest. Of course, it was (as is well known) an essential element in the Temple service. But the Rabbinical view is that, apart from the Temple service, the Sabbath laws remain in full force for the priests as well as for the rest of the congregation. Further, "its absence (says Dr. Friedländer) though not directly a sign of mourning has served to preserve the memory of

[1] Especially on the curtain of the *Hekal*.

the destruction of the Temple, and to strengthen our longing for its restoration." But there is a strong tendency to introduce it, which has been satisfied in the Reform Synagogue. Its absence, however, has some large compensations. The singing of the responses, the psalms, and hymns to the traditional melodies by choirs of highly trained male voices is extremely beautiful. Some of the hymns—like the venerable *'En Kelohenu* and the *'Adon 'Olam*—that can be heard every Sabbath in the Synagogue are strikingly impressive.

It ought to be mentioned also, that before a Synagogue is used for Divine worship it is consecrated (*Chinuk*). The scrolls of the law are carried round the building seven times, and then deposited solemnly in the Ark.

Unlike mosques or Roman Catholic churches, Synagogues have from time immemorial been furnished with benches and chairs.

In some cases the *Beth Hammidrash* (i.e. reading room and library), is found in close proximity to the Synagogue, where the week-day service (if a *minyan* is present) can be held. In the larger Synagogues, however, the week-day services are usually held in the ante-room of the Synagogue building.

In all cases public service—with responses and reading of the Law and the Prophets from the desk—can only be held if a quorum of ten male worshippers above thirteen years old is present. This quorum is technically known as the *minyan*. It is, however, held that if nine are present, and a boy under age, but of sufficient intelligence to understand the matter, these can form a congregation. In some of the smaller *chevras* we believe the rule about the quorum is not always adhered to now.

Officers of the Congregation.—The highest functionary of a Jewish congregation is the Rabbi (= lit. *my master*) called by the *Sefardim*, the *Chakam* (i.e. *the learned*). By a congregation is meant a community of Jews sufficiently numerous to maintain a Rabbi or Rabbinical Court

(*Beth Din*) made up of three judges (*Dayyānim*). Such a congregation may worship in one or a hundred Synagogues. Where a congregation is too small to maintain a *Rabbi* it is known as a *yishub*, or settlement, and is generally dependent on the Rabbi of the nearest town.

In London there are not many congregations in the sense just explained. Thus the Ashkenazic congregation, worshipping in a large number of Synagogues, has at its head the *Beth Din* presided over by the Chief Rabbi.

There are not many holders of the Rabbinical Diploma in England. Thus in London there are the three members of the *Beth Din*, who, of course, hold the Rabbinical Diploma, viz., the Chief Rabbi, and the two Dayyānim. There are also the *Chakam* (Dr. Gaster) and one or two others. Dr. Hermann Gollancz, of the Bayswater Synagogue, holds the Rabbinical Diploma, but, we believe, exercises no independent jurisdiction, acting simply as minister of his Synagogue. The Rabbinical Diploma (*Hattarath Hora'a*) is conferred by recognized Rabbis after examination, and certifies the recipient's learning in Rabbinical law, and confers upon him the right to *pasken*, i.e. to decide disputes according to Rabbinical law. In Palestine, the Rabbinical succession was formerly perpetuated by ordination. With the Synagogue services as such the Rabbi has nothing to do. Of course he can and often does preach. But he is teacher and lawyer rather than minister in the narrow sense of the word.

The Synagogue also recognizes the *cohanim*, or Priests, and the Levites, but they are accorded no official position, only one of honour. The cohen's presence is not necessary (except to bestow the priestly blessing, which is now very rarely done, and if at all only on festivals). But it is the rule to call up first in order to the reading of the Law a priest and levite.

The official who *is* necessary for the service is known as the *Chazzan* (lit. "overseer") who recites the prayers and reads the lessons. He is the Reader, in fact. In some

Synagogues there are two—a principal and an assistant. In the larger Synagogues, too, it is customary to divide the offices of preacher and reader. The preacher and principal official is in these cases called the minister, and is assisted by the reader. Both preachers and readers are dignified by the title Rev.; the Chief Rabbi by that of Very Rev. In German, a regular *Chazzān* is called Vorsänger or Vorbeter, i.e., leader in song or prayer. The term "cantor" is also sometimes applied.

The professional *Chazzān* is, as a rule, chosen "with a view to a good voice, musical training, and thorough acquaintance with chants and accustomed times"; "his shortcomings in morals and religion," says a Jewish writer, "being too often overlooked." In progressive Synagogues he has to be a thoroughly trained vocalist. In some of the larger Synagogues the *Chazzān* does not read the lessons, but this is done by an assistant known as the *Baal Kore*, or master-reader (a modern title). In this case vocal and musical accomplishments are not necessary as the required cantillation is very simple.

The prophetic lesson is read, in the modern Synagogue, from a printed book, with vowels and accents, which is laid on the desk (*Shulchan*). Occasionally, however, a scroll is used—there are some Synagogues in "Poland and elsewhere, in which parchment copies of the Prophets are kept with the bare letters, like the scrolls of the law"[1] which necessitates that the prophetic lesson can only be read by one of the permanent officials.

The *Chazzān* reads the service on Sabbaths and holidays. At the week-day daily service, when a *minyan* is present, this is often done by one of the congregation, who acts as the *Sheliach Tsibbûr*, (i.e. messenger of the congregation, cf. *the Angel of the Church* in the Book of Revelation). "The needful qualifications are correct Hebrew reading, understanding the contents of the Prayer-Book, and a

[1] Dembitz.

good moral and religious standing. No man who is under excommunication can act as leader, or be counted of the Ten." [1]

The lay officials of the Synagogue are :—

The *Parnas* or President, and the *Gabbai* or Treasurer, who are the two wardens of the Synagogue. The President, Treasurers, and a Council of Members control the affairs of the Synagogue. The *Parnas* presides over the meetings of the Council, and as a rule acts as *Segan*, and allots the various duties or *mitzvoth* connected with the service. In most Synagogues there is a pew specially reserved for the two wardens, known as the *Parnas box*. The lay officials are expected to stand by the reader on the *Bema* during the lessons. The presiding officer at the desk is the *Segan*. As a rule the *Parnas* or *Gabbai* acts as Segan, but on special occasions the privilege temporarily devolves on a private member, e.g. the father of a *Bar Mitzvah*, or of a bridegroom at the Sabbath when or near which the ceremonies are to take place. In this case the person is said to "act as Segan."

The *Parnas* commands the services of a paid official known as *Shammash*, or beadle—he is sexton, beadle, and usher all in one.

The Synagogue Services (*Sabbath and week-day*).—There are three daily services in the Synagogue, viz., Evening Prayer (*Maarib*), Morning Prayer (*Shacharith*) and Afternoon Prayer (*Minchah*). On Sabbaths, New Moons and Festivals, an additional prayer (*Musaf*), is inserted between *Schacharith* and *Minchah*, and on the Day of Atonement a further service is added after *Minchah* called *Ne'ilah* (concluding service). At *Maarib* and *Shacharith* the Shema is read, while the great prayer known as *Tefillah* or *Amidah* is common to all services.

It may be well to remind the reader that public service, that is service *in* the Synagogue, can only be held when

[1] Dembitz.

ten males, of full religious age, are present. By no means all Jews, however, attend daily service. In this case the prayers are read at home, the only difference being that certain important prayers like *Kaddish* and the parts of the service involving responses are omitted. Practically one of the chief reasons for holding the daily service is to enable orphans to say *Kaddish*, and to make up the required *minyan* at Synagogue to enable them to do so is considered a pious duty (*mitzvah*). The custom of praying three times in the day, though not mentioned in the Law, is Biblical. There is the passage in the fifty-fifth Psalm (which perhaps was written after the institution of regular prayer) where the righteous man declares *at evening, and at morning and at noonday will I complain and moan, and he shall hear my voice* (Ps. 55^{17}). And again we are told of Daniel that *he continued kneeling upon his knees three times a day and praying and giving thanks before his God* (for so Dan. 6^{10} should be rendered ; see Driver *ad loc.*) In both these cases, however, it is *private* prayer that is meant. In the Temple services public provision was (as is well known) made for the three *times of prayer*. But it is a mistake as Schürer (*HJP* Vol. iii., p. 290 ff.) has pointed out, due to a misunderstanding of certain passages in the Acts (2^{15}, 3^{1}, $10^{3,9,30}$) to suppose that the stated hours were the third, sixth and ninth hours (i.e. our 9, 12 and 3 o'clock). The actual times were (1) about the time when the morning burnt offering was offered ; (2) in the afternoon at the ninth hour (3 o'clock) when the evening meal-offering was offered ; and (3) sunset. A full description of these services is given in Schürer, *ibid.*, p. 292 ff.

In the modern Synagogue morning and afternoon prayer are considered of greater obligation than evening prayer, because they correspond to the times when the daily sacrifice was offered in the Temple. In this way the words of the prophet Hosea are in spirit complied with : *We shall render as bullocks* (*the offering of*) *our lips*

(Hos. 14^3). It is tolerably well known that morning prayer in the Modern Synagogue is held at a very early hour—in some of the small chevras as early as 6 a.m. (in order to enable the poorer Jewish workmen to get their prayers over before the working day begins). In the *Great Synagogue* Sabbath morning prayer begins at 8.30. The Reform Synagogue stands alone, probably, in making the hour so late as 10.30. The reason for the early hour is to be found in the rule that the *Shema'* (which must be recited twice a day, morning and evening) must be said before 9 o'clock. This is the strict rule in accordance with the precept in Deut. 6^7: *And thou shalt impress them upon the children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest.*

When thou liest down, according to tradition = from early starlight to midnight; *when thou risest* = from the light of the dawn till 9 o'clock. But in practice these limits are not always by any means strictly observed. Thus *Minchah* and *Maarib* are usually run together, and to enable this to be done, the evening service is often said before its proper time, i.e. before starlight. Sometimes, however, the reverse process is followed, e.g. on Friday evening, at the beginning of the Sabbath, when Minchah is said immediately *before* the evening service.

The *additional prayer* known as *Musaf*, is said on those days, for which additional offerings are prescribed in the Law. In most places it immediately follows the morning service without a break, e.g. the Sabbath morning service at the Great and other Synagogues in London. " But in many synagogues of Austria and Hungary, and in Western Asia also," we are told, " the true morning service for the Sabbath is held at a very early hour, at 6 or 7; the worshipper then goes home, takes breakfast, and comes back at 10 o'clock for the 'lessons,' for the sermon, and for *Musaf*." " This," says a Jewish writer, " is correct, for it is a leading Jewish principle that whatever duty can be

performed at break of day should be performed before the morning meal, and before any business or pleasure is entered on ; and this principle applies most strongly to the reading of the Shema ' when thou risest.' "[1]

The morning service on weekdays (except Mondays and Thursdays) lasts about forty-five minutes, and can be said in that time without undue hurry ; on new moons (including *Musaf*) in about one hour. Sabbath morning service is much longer. In the Great Synagogue it lasts exactly three hours. The afternoon service on week-days takes about ten minutes, the evening service fifteen minutes.

II. The Sacred Year and Calendar.

One of the most noteworthy links that connect the modern Jews with their great historic past is their sacred year and calendar. This has been maintained intact (though with developments) from Biblical times, and it is interesting to notice that the calendar-system which is implied in the New Testament may be studied in the life, as it were, in the social organization and worship of the modern Jews.

i. *The Arrangement of the Calendar.*

The elements of the calendar are, of course, the day, the month and the year. The day is reckoned from even-ing to evening, and begins when (on a clear night) three stars are visible, which is supposed to be twenty-five minutes after sunset. This is technically known as " the coming forth of the stars."

It is worth remarking that this division of the day is guaranteed by the first chapter of the Bible. In the enu-meration of the days of Creation evening comes first : *And there was evening and there was morning one day* (Gen. 1 [5].). Accordingly, the day is divided into evening, morning, and afternoon, for each of which, as has been pointed out above,

[1] Dembitz.

an appropriate service of prayer is provided. The week is, of course, identical with the our own, consisting of seven days, Saturday being the seventh. But the Jews have no special names for the days of the week except for the seventh which is called the *Sabbath*, or *Day of the Sabbath* (i.e. " Day of Rest "). The only distinctive Jewish mode of distinguishing them is by numbers (*first, second, third* day of the week, etc.), a method of reckoning which is familiar to us through the New Testament (cf. e.g. St. John 20^{19}). It is worth noting, however, that in post-Biblical Hebrew the sixth day (Friday) is termed *Eve of the Sabbath* (*'Ereb shabbāth*) or *the coming in of the Sabbath.* It is interesting also to notice that the Hebrew word for *Eve* (*'ereb*) or rather its Aramaic equivalent (*'ărûbtā*) came to be the technical designation of Friday; and in exactly the same way the Greek equivalent παρασκευή (" = Preparation " viz., for the Sabbath) came to be the regular name for Friday, and is still so among the Greeks. According to St. John (19^{14}) it was on Preparation-day that the crucifixion took place, and according to unbroken Christian tradition that day has been fixed as Friday, or, as we call it, " Good Friday." The evening following Sabbath is known as *the going out of the Sabbath*, and similarly the day preceding a festival and the evening following it are called *Eve of the Festival* and *The Departure of the Festival.*

The Jewish month is lunar, beginning with the new moon. The moment at which it commences is technically termed its *molad* or " birth," which is noted in every Jewish calendar for each month. Its length strictly should be 29 days 12 hours 44 minutes and $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. But for practical purposes this is adjusted by making the months 29 and 30 days in length alternately. Since, however, twelve such months only make a total of $354\frac{1}{3}$ days, while the solar year contains $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, a further adjustment was rendered necessary to prevent the seasons getting wrong. The difficulty is met by adding an extra month—the second

Adar—to certain years which are called "leap years." In a cycle of nineteen years ("the Metonic cycle") the difference as compared with the corresponding solar years would amount to seven months. Hence in every such cycle it is necessary to have seven "leap years," viz. the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth.

The fixing of the *molad* of the month and the determination of the length of any given year is now made exactly by astronomical calculations and published through the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities. But formerly the proclamation of the new moon and the making of a "pregnant" year (i.e. the addition of the thirteenth month) was the prerogative of the Sanhedrin and the Patriarch, and was regarded by them "as the highest mark of their sovereignty in Israel." [1] When the day of the new moon had been fixed by observation the Sanhedrin proclaimed its decision, and this was conveyed by signals and messengers to Jewish congregations within reach.

There were, however, congregations in distant parts which could not be reached in this way in time. As the incidence of the festivals depended on the dates of the months, this created a difficulty which was solved by the congregations outside of Palestine observing two days as Holy Days instead of one.[2] Thus the New Year (*Rōsh ha-shānāh*) is kept two days (Tisri 1 and 2) instead of one. The one exception was the Day of Atonement (Tisri 10) which had no additional day "because the people were unable to abstain from food two whole days." This observance of an additional day is really only a pious custom (*minhag*) which has ceased to have any meaning now that the calendar is accurately fixed beforehand by astronomical calculation. But the custom having become

[1] Dembitz.

[2] The possible variation for the beginning of a new month was limited to two days. The new moon might in some cases be seen a few hours earlier in one place than in another.

practically universal, it is held in orthodox Jewish circles that it can only be abolished by a properly constituted Sanhedrin whose authority shall be recognized by the whole Jewish people. "Reformers, however," we are told, "keep only one day, and this example is being largely followed."[1]

Before the Babylonian Exile the months had Jewish names of which only four have survived, viz., the months numbered 1, 2, 7 and 8 in the table below (1, Abib = Nisan, 2, Ziv = Iyar, 7, Ethānîm = Tisri, and 8, Bul = Cheshvan).

In the Bible they are usually indicated by numbers (*first, second* month, etc.); but after the exile the Babylonian names were introduced, and are still in use among the Jews. These are :—

Name of Month.	*Corresponds roughly to*	*Duration.*
1. Nisan =	April . . .	30 days.
2. Iyar =	May . . .	29 ,,
3. Sivan =	June . . .	30 ,,
4. Tammuz =	July . . .	29 ,,
5. Ab =	August . . .	30 ,,
6. Elul =	September . .	29 ,,
7. Tisri =	October . . .	30 ,,
8. Cheshvan =	November . .	29 or 30 days
9. Kislev =	December . .	30 or 29 ,,
10. Tebeth =	January . . .	29 days
11. Shebat =	February . .	30 ,,
12. Adar =	March . . .	29 (in leap year 30).
And in leap year		
13. Adar Sheni (= Second Adar)	. . .	29 days

Thus an ordinary year cannot be less than 353 or more than 355 days; and a "leap year" cannot be less than 383 or more than 385 days.

It will be noticed that the order of the months just

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[1] *Jewish Year Book.* It still remains true, however, that owing to the wide dispersion of the Jews a *simultaneous* observance of a festival for twenty-four hours can only be secured (owing to the difference of time and longitude) by adhering to the two-day rule.

enumerated makes Nisan the first month, i.e. makes the year begin with spring. Now this is the beginning of the sacred year according to the Pentateuch; and on this arrangement of the year the cycle of sacred festivals is based. But there is another reckoning of the year which in post-exilic times we find existing side by side with the above. According to this the year begins with Tisri (i.e. the seventh month of the Pentateuch-reckoning). This marked the beginning of the secular or civil year, and is the year of the modern Jews.

Prof. Schürer (a very high authority on these matters) thinks that beginning the year with Tisri was the more ancient practice. There is some support for this view in a statement of Josephus who says the beginning of the year with Nisan, as ordained by Moses, holds good with reference only to sacred things; whereas, on the other hand, "for buying and selling and other business" the year commences with Tisri according to the more ancient pre-mosaic ordinance.[1]

The two systems as they formerly existed side by side may be compared to our own ecclesiastical and secular year, the former beginning with Advent, the latter with January. But since the destruction of the Temple the Mosaic sacred year has largely ceased to have any practical importance, and what was formerly the secular year only has been accepted as the basis of its sacred year by the Synagogue. The Jewish New Year, then (*Rōsh hashānāh*)[2] begins with the first of Tisri.

The arrangement of the Jewish Year is determined by certain rules, the most important of which are that the Day of Atonement must not fall either immediately before or immediately after the Sabbath (on account of the

[1] Schürer *HJP*, i, 38.

[2] One of the names for this festival is the "Feast of Trumpets." The Jewish year corresponding to 1906–7 (viz. 5667 according to the era of Creation) began on Tisri 1 = September 20, 1906 and ended Elul 29 = September 8, 1907.

inconvenience involved in preparing for the Sabbath or the Fast). If, therefore, in accordance with this rule, Tisri 10 (i.e. the Day of Atonement) cannot occur on a Friday or a Sunday, Tisri 1 cannot occur on a Wednesday or a Friday. Further, in order to prevent the old national holiday *Hosha'na Rabba* (falls on Tisri 21) from occurring upon the Sabbath, Tisri 1 cannot fall upon a Sunday, that is to say, it cannot occur on Sunday, Wednesday or Friday.

Another complication is brought about by the *molad*. The Jewish Day formally begins six hours before midnight. If, therefore, the *molad* or new moon "occurs after midday but before two o'clock, it cannot become visible till the next day, which has, therefore, to be reckoned as the day of the new moon." Thus "if, by calculation, the *molad* should strike Saturday afternoon, the first of Tisri must be put off to Sunday, and, this being disallowed, further on to Monday." [1] The adjustment so necessitated is made at the end of the months Cheshvan and Kislev for the preceding year.

The first of every Jewish month (*Rōsh Chodesh* = "Head of the Month") is kept as a half-holiday. It is identical with the "new moon" of the Bible. When the preceding month has thirty days the thirtieth day is kept as *Rōsh Chodesh* as well. Thus Iyar has two days of *Rōsh Chodesh*, viz. Nisan 30 and Iyar 1, while Nisan itself has only one (Nisan 1).

ii. *The Dates of the Festivals and Fasts.*

We have first of all (*a*) "The *Solemn Days*," viz., New Year and Day of Atonement.

1. New Year (*Rōsh ha-hashanah*) first day = Tisri 1; second day = Tisri 2.

2. Day of Atonement (*Yôm Kippûr* = Tisri 10).

The first ten days of the New Year (Tisri 1–10) form a penitential period something like our Advent, and are known as "the ten days of penitence."

[1] *Jewish Year Book.*

(*b*) *The Three Festivals*, viz., Feast of Tabernacles, Passover and Feast of Weeks.

1. Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*) first day = Tisri 15 ;
   ,, ,, second day = Tisri 16 ;
   ,, ,, third to seventh days, middle days of the Festival (half-holidays) ;
   ,, ,, seventh day = Hosha-'nā Rabbā, Tisri 21 ;
   ,, ,, eighth day = *shēmînî 'Atseret* (Eighth Day Festival), Tisri 22 ;
   ,, ,, ninth day = *Simchath Tôrāh* (Rejoicing of the Law), Tisri 23.

[Total nine days.]

2. Passover (Pēsach = Gk. *πάσχα*) first day = Nisan 15;
   ,, second day = Nisan 16
   ,, seventh day = Nisan 21 ;
   ,, eighth day = Nisan 22 [1]

3. Feast of Weeks (*Shābûôth* = weeks) first day = Sivan 6 ;
   second day = Sivan 7.

[The " Feast of Weeks " is so called because it marks the completion of a week of weeks (i.e. seven weeks or

[1] Note that the commencing and concluding days which are full holy days, are doubled here as elsewhere, in accordance with the rule explained above. The Biblical first day now becomes two (Nisan 15 and 16): and the Biblical seventh day likewise two (Nisan 21 and 22).

49 days) from the second day of Passover when the "omer" of new corn was offered. The days of this interval are counted as they proceed, and this is known as the "Counting of the Omer." The fact that the fiftieth day marks the incidence of the Festival is the explanation of its Greek name Pentecost (= Fiftieth sc. day). It corresponds, of course, to our Whitsuntide.]

(*c*) *The Historical Feasts.* Besides the above there are two feasts commemorating events in the later history of the Jewish people, viz., *Chanukkāh* or *Dedication*, which is celebrated in memory of the re-dedication of the Temple, after a period of defilement, by Judas Maccabæus, in 164 B.C. (cf. 1 Maccabees); and *Purim*, commemorating events related in the Book of Esther.

1 Chanukkāh [1] lasts eight days:
first day = Kislev 25;
eighth day = Tebeth 2.
[It often falls about Christmas-time.]

2. Purim (= ? *Lots*) lasts one day, viz., Adar 14. It is the carnival of modern Jewry.

(*d*) *The Four Fasts* (commemorating events connected with the fall of Jerusalem): viz.—

1. Tebeth 10 commemorates the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem.
2. Tammuz 17 commemorates the breach made in the wall.
3. Ab 9 the destruction of the First and Second Temples (traditionally supposed to have taken place on the same day of the month). This is known, as the "Black Fast" in contradistinction from the "White Fast," the Day of Atonement.
4. Tisri 3, the Fast of Gedaliah (the Jewish Viceroy left by Nebuchadnezzar after the destruction of Jerusalem, who was murdered, cf. Jer. 41).

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[1] Chanukkah = Dedication, τὰ ἐγκαίνια of St. John 10^{22} Vulg.: Encænium: It was called also The Feast of Light.

All these fasts begin at daybreak, except that of Ab 9, which (like the Day of Atonement) begins the previous evening and lasts twenty-four hours. All four fasts are alluded to in Zech. 8^{19}.

(*e*) *Other* (*minor*) *fasts* are :—

1. Fast of Esther = Adar 13 (before Purim).
2. Fast of the Firstborn = Nisan 14 (before Passover).

Note.—It should be added that Passover must always be celebrated on the first full moon after the vernal equinox. Hence the canon of the Council of Nicæa fixing Easter on the Sunday following the first full moon after the spring equinox. And so our own Prayer-Book, which sets forth that "Easter Day . . . is always the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon, or next after the twenty-first day of March" (i.e. the spring equinox).

III. The Jewish Era.

A word must be said in conclusion about the Jewish Era. In the Books of Maccabees all dates are fixed by the Seleucid Era (begins 312 B.C.). This continued in use till about the tenth century A.D., and was commonly employed for dating documents for legal purposes. Hence it is known as the "era of contracts." Curiously enough it survives among the Jews of Yemen (South Arabia) to this day. But since the tenth century the great mass of Jews has used the Era of Creation (A.M.=anno mundi) which they fix as beginning 3760 B.C., disagreeing with Ussher's reckoning which dates it 4004 B.C.

Thus the year 1907 according to this notation, is 3760 +1907=5667. In printed Hebrew Books, etc., this is usually shortened to 667 simply.[1] The Christian Era is generally indicated in Jewish circles by the letters C.E. i.e. "common era."[2]

[1] In Hebrew letters 667 appears as תרס ; ת=400, ר=200, ס=60, and ז=7.

[2] A full and detailed Calendar is printed each year in *The Jewish Year Book* (London, Greenberg & Co.).

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRAYER-BOOK.[1]

THE General Character of the Prayers—Influence of Sacrificial Worship of the Temple on the Synagogue Liturgy—The Benedictions and the "Eighteen Blessings"—The *Shema'* with its Benedictions—*Kaddish* and Prayers for the Dead—Arrangement of the Prayers generally.

THE Synagogue Liturgy is all important as revealing the inner side of the legalistic system of theology on which orthodox Judaism is based. It reflects the popular piety and devotion. As one of the present writers has said elsewhere, "it was the piety of men who clung tenaciously to the Law as the final and supreme expression of a divine revelation, but the piety was none the less true and deep. It could enlist in its service all the affections and the passionate devotion of large-hearted and profoundly religious natures. As expressed in its Prayer-Book the legalistic piety of orthodox Judaism affords one more example of the religious genius of a people uniquely distinguished in the domain of religion."

A few introductory notes on the general character of the prayers of the Synagogue Liturgy (with some illustrations) and on the arrangement of these prayers in the regular services is all that can be attempted here. It is hoped that this will suffice to enable the reader to begin the study of the Jewish Liturgy for himself intelligently.

I. THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE PRAYERS.

One of the most striking features about the Synagogue prayers in general is their *scriptural character*. Not only are whole psalms, other passages, and single verses

[1] To the literature cited in Part i, Chap. v, add here the art. *Liturgy* in *JE*, viii, 132; an essay by G. H. Box *The Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer-Book* (Longmans, 1906). Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*) is the principal authority.

used, but the material of those prayers which are not directly scriptural citations is largely drawn from the sacred writings. Sometimes it is a striking allusion to some point in Scripture that we meet with, or it may be an adaptation of a scriptural sentence, as when, for instance, the promise : *I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning* (Isa. 1^{26} *becomes* a petition : *Restore our judges as at the first*, etc.)

Another noticeable feature about the prayers is their *congregational character*. In this respect, of course, the Jewish Prayer-Book conforms to the standard recognized by all the great authorized liturgical compilations —our own Book of Common Prayer being a signal example. Throughout the Hebrew Prayer-Book [2] the petitions and other forms are couched in the plural number, and the first person plural that so constantly occurs includes all Israel.

In this connexion it should be noted that the only proper name recognized in the liturgy for the Jewish people is the sacred name of Israel.[3] "Israel," or "The House" or "People of Israel," or "God's People" are spoken of ; never "Jews." The names "Jerusalem" and "Zion," also, always refer to the *places* so called.

The Divine names employed in the earlier compositions are those of the Bible. In later Rabbinical forms, however, periphrastic designations are common, the most frequent being "The Holy One, blessed be He." The mysterious designation of God as "The Place" (Heb. *ha-mākôm*) is also met with. This is sometimes rendered

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[1] In the eleventh clause of the so-called "Eighteen Blessings" (*Shemoneh 'Esreh*) or Amidah-Prayer (for which see below) in Singer p. 48.

[2] With a few exceptions, which however only include prayers or formulas to be recited privately : cf., e.g., Singer, p. 114 (before putting on the Talith).

[3] Israel, of course, is the sacred name given by God to Jacob ; cf. Gen. 32^{28} ; 35^{10} ; as such it is often applied in Scripture to the chosen people as the people of God.

"The Omnipresent," but its real explanation is quite uncertain. Other forms of address found are: "Our Father, Our King"; and "The Merciful."[1]

The great personal name of God (יהוה) which is familiar to us as "Jehovah" is now never pronounced by the Jews. Instead they substitute the word "Lord" (*Adonai*) or in some cases "God" (*Elōhîm*). In the time of the Temple "the ineffable name" (שם המפרש) was uttered by the High Priest in the services of the Day of Atonement, and also occasionally by the ordinary priests in the formula of the Priestly Blessing (Numb. 6^{24-26}). But with these exceptions the pronunciation of the name even then was regarded as impious, and was ultimately discountenanced altogether owing, in all probability, to its superstitious employment in working miracles.

It should be added that all the prayers are written and chanted in the sacred tongue, i.e. Hebrew, with the exception of a few which are written in the cognate Aramaic dialect. It is curious to notice that in some cases the same formula appears in both Hebrew and Aramaic. An example can be seen in Singer, p. 73 (bottom) and p. 74 (top). Of course Hebrew has for more than two thousand years ceased to be a living language among the Jews. In the time of our Lord, Aramaic was the popular language among the Jews of Palestine, and continued still so to be for some centuries later; and this was true also of the Jews in Babylonia. When our Lord spoke in the synagogue and expounded the Scriptures, He used the Aramaic language. In fact it was, as is well known, the regular practice for the Scriptures to be read in Hebrew, and translated by a *methurgemān*, or interpreter, verse by verse, or paragraph by paragraph, into the Aramaic vernacular. Outside

[1] From this last Mohammed may have derived the epithet which so constantly recurs in the Koran; e.g., in the formula: *In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.*

of Palestine among the Jews of the Dispersion in Greek-speaking countries the case was different. There Greek was largely, if not exclusively, used. It seems that not only the Scriptures, but also the most important parts (if not all) of the Liturgy—such as the *Shema'* and the *Shemônēh 'Esrēh*—were regularly recited in the Hellenistic synagogues in Greek, and not in Hebrew at all.[1] And even in the *Mishnah* sanction is given to the use of any language whatever in repeating the *Shema'*, the *Shemônēh 'Esrēh*, and the grace at meals.[2] Still the paramount importance of Hebrew was always insisted on by the Rabbis, and according to Rabbinical law every father was bound to teach his child Hebrew as soon as it began to speak.[3] In later practice Hebrew has been the only language recognized as legitimate for prayer and worship.

II. Influence of the Sacrificial Worship of the Temple on the Synagogue Liturgy.

Regarding the *structure* of the liturgical forms it is important to remember that this has been fundamentally influenced by the sacrificial worship of the Temple.

Long before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the consequent cessation of the sacrificial system, the synagogue had come into existence, and firmly established itself wherever Jewish communities flourished. It met a widespread religious need, owing to the centralization of the sacrificial worship in Jerusalem. While only a limited number of Jews could be present at any one time in the central sanctuary, and assist in the offering of the sacrifice, no such disability would apply to the services of the Synagogue. To a certain though limited extent, indeed, the Synagogue was affiliated to the Temple worship. It will be remembered that for purposes of

[1] Cf. *HJP*, iv, 283 ff; also iii, p. 10.
[2] *Sota*, vii, 1 (exceptions, 2).
[3] Toseft. *Chag.* begin.; cf. B. *Sukkāh* 42[a].

the daily sacrificial worship, not only the priests and Levites, but also the lay Israelites generally were divided into twenty-four courses of service, each of which had to take its turn in coming before God (in the Temple) every day for a whole week, by way of representing the whole body of the people, while the daily sacrifice was being offered to Jehovah.[1] But it appears that not the whole division of Israelites on duty, but only a deputation from it, was actually present at any given time in the Temple; the others, who had been left behind, assembled in the local synagogues (at the time when the sacrifice was actually offered in the Temple) and engaged in prayer and the reading of Scripture. (See *Taanith* iv, 2.)

Still the Synagogue was essentially independent of the priesthood and the sacrificial cult, and was entirely free from the limitations applying to a centralized worship, and a sacerdotal system. Hence, when the latter disappeared in the great catastrophe of 70 A.D., the Synagogue was the one institution exactly fitted to be the instrument for the reconstruction of Judaism.

The Synagogue now became not merely supplementary to the Temple worship, but took its place. And this fact has profoundly influenced not merely the structure of its Liturgy, but also the form and substance of its prayers. *The question is often asked, What is the modern Jewish attitude towards sacrifice?* If the sacrificial system was necessary in order to maintain communion with God, how can the Jews reconcile themselves to their present religious condition—which has lasted now for more than eighteen centuries—without priest, altar, or sacrifice?

The Jewish answers to this question are, perhaps, not quite consistent. On the one hand the Rabbis taught that "charity or repentance was an accepted substitute or equivalent for sacrifice." The following quotation will illustrate the Rabbinical view:—*At this*

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[1] *HJP*, iii, 275 f.

time, when there is no temple, and we have no altar, there is no atonement but repentance. Repentance atones for all transgressions, yea, though a man be wicked all his days, and repent at last, none of his wickedness is mentioned to him, for it is said : AS FOR THE WICKEDNESS OF THE WICKED HE SHALL NOT FALL THEREBY, IN THE DAY THAT HE TURNETH FROM HIS WICKEDNESS. (Ezek. 33^{12}).[1] On the other hand, the traditional Liturgy provides a sort of parabolic and metaphorical fulfilment of sacrifice in the following ways :—

(1). By providing forms of prayer for daily worship which correspond to the original daily sacrifice. One of these—the afternoon service—actually bears the name of the original offering (*minchāh*). In accordance with this principle those days which were originally provided with additional sacrifices (Sabbaths, new moons, and festivals) are now provided with additional forms of prayer (mûsāf = additional).

(2). Special sections from the Law and the *Mishnah* which contain the original enactments about the daily and Sabbath offerings, are placed at the beginning of the service (cf. Singer, p. 9 ff.). And on high days and festivals it is the rule to supplement the Pentateuch lesson by the paragraph from the Law which enumerates the sacrifices enacted for the day. For instance, during the Feast of Tabernacles the paragraph Num. 29^{12-39} is read in addition, from a second scroll. The principle underlying all this is stated in a Haggadic passage in the Talmud. Abraham is there represented "to have anxiously asked God how the sins of Israel would be forgiven when their temple was destroyed, and they should have no place

[1] Maimonides (Rambam), *Hilkoth Teshubah*, ch. i, § 3 (cited in McCaul, *Old Paths*, p. 386).

where to bring their sacrifices, and he was told that to read the duty of these sacrifices from the *Torah* would be accepted as a full equivalent." [1]

(3). Various prayers have been inserted in the Liturgy which breathe the hope and supplication that the Temple service may be restored. In some cases an older prayer has been amplified in this sense. It is doubtful, however, whether if even the exile could be brought to an end, and the Jewish race were once more gathered into Palestine, with full control of the land, the Temple and its sacrificial worship would be resumed. According to so orthodox a Jewish writer as Dr. Friedländer [2] such a revival could only take place even then if "sanctioned by the divine voice of a prophet."

Judaism may, therefore, with justice, be said almost completely to have spiritualized the sacrificial idea. The daily offering of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving morning and afternoon in the synagogue is a spiritual counterpart and fulfilment of the old daily sacrifice in the Temple. In this way the words of the prophet Hosea are in spirit fulfilled: *We shall render as bullocks (the offering of) our lips* (Hos. 14[2]).

III. The Benedictions and the "Eighteen Blessings."

Nothing is more striking in the Jewish Liturgy than the regular recurrence of formulas of *Blessing* or *Benediction* (Heb. *berakah*). These regularly accompany the performance of religious duties positively enjoined in the Law (e.g., the binding on of the phylacteries), and also play an important part in the liturgy itself.

In its simplest form the Blessing can be seen in many examples (cf. Singer, p. 4 f; p. 287 ff: "Blessings on various occasions"). Thus, before washing the hands:—

[1] Dembitz, *op. cit.* p. 259. [2] *Jewish Religion*, p. 417.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and commanded us concerning the washing of the hands. Or again, on placing the *Tefillāh* (phylactery) on the arm :—

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us to lay the Tefillîn (Singer, p. 16).

A whole series of short Benedictions has been developed expressive of thanksgiving for personal benefits or enjoyments, thankful recognition of God's goodness and providence as shown in the work of creation and the phenomena of life and nature.

One of the most ancient and interesting of these is that recited over meals. In accordance with the Biblical command (Deut. 8^{10}) grace at meals,[1] i.e., according to the Rabbis' grace both before and after eating, is obligatory. The Blessing over bread, which is recited before the meal begins, and which may have been known to our Lord runs :—

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth.

The recitation that follows the meal is more elaborate. Here the Blessings now number four (see Singer, p. 286), and are ascribed by the Talmud (*B. Berak* 48^{b}), the first to Moses, the second to Joshua, the third to King Solomon, and the fourth to the Rabbis of Jamnia (second century A.D.).

Altogether, something like a hundred forms of Benediction are extant in Rabbinical literature, and this fact eloquently attests how vivid in Jewish piety the sense of God's providence and goodness is, and what genuine devotion this sensitiveness has evoked. As a Jewish writer well says, " Every manifestation of Divine protection and help became an opportunity for the pious

[1] Hebrew *Birkath ha-mazon*, cf. in the New Testament the reference to our Lord's custom of giving thanks before distributing bread at a meal (St. Matt. 14^{19} ; 15^{36} ; 26^{26} and cf. Acts 27^{35}).

Israelite to offer up thanksgiving in the usual form of a benediction." (Dr. Kohler in *JE*, iii, 10.) In the liturgy proper the set Benediction plays an important part. One of the most famous of its constitutent elements —the so-called "Eighteen Blessings" (Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh = "Eighteen") [1]—consists of a number of benedictions constructed in regular form, which are strung together, and invariably end with the formula "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who," etc. Here, strangely enough, however, the element of petition is mingled with that of blessing. The *Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh* is one of the central parts of the Prayer-Book; it recurs in various forms in all the services, and, moreover, is recited in a double form, first silently and then audibly, in the congregation. Special Benedictions are also recited before and after the reading of the Law, being introduced by the formula, "Bless ye." This is in accordance with Biblical precedent (Neh. 8^{6}).[2]

IV. The Shema' with its Benedictions.

Another prominent and important element in the liturgy, the recitation of which is introduced and followed by solemn Benedictions, is the *Shema'*. The *Shema'* consists, as is well known, of three paragraphs from the Law, viz., Deut. 6^{4-9}; 11^{13-21} and Num. 15^{37-41} (cf. Singer, p. 40 f.). The solemn recitation of the *Shema'* is undoubtedly one of the most ancient features in Jewish liturgical worship. It is more than once alluded to by our Lord in the Gospels (cf. St. Mark 12^{28} f. and parallels). The question arises, What is its exact significance in Jewish worship? What is the essential meaning

[1] See for these Singer, pp. 44–54. In the present recension one has been added, and there are really nineteen.

[2] With this may be compared the custom of chanting the formula "Glory be to Thee, O God," and "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this Thy Holy Gospel," before and after the reading of the Gospel in our own liturgy.

attached to its three sections? The idea on which, in the Jewish mind, most stress is consciously laid is, without doubt, the assertion of God's essential unity found in its opening clause: *Hear, O Israel; the Lord (Jehovah) our God, the Lord (Jehovah) is one!* It is significant that this opening clause is separated from the rest of the contents of the formula by the solemn interjection: *Blessed be His name, whose glorious kingdom is for ever* and *ever!*[1]

Originally, the assertion of God's unity was directed against the polytheistic ideas of surrounding heathendom. But now that Judaism finds itself (in Europe, at any rate) in a Christian environment, the old idea has been modified, and the formula is understood in a Unitarian sense as opposed to the Trinitarian conception of the Godhead on the part of orthodox Christianity.

At the same time it should be noted that an extended significance is given to the clause by the great Jewish commentator, Rashi (A.D. 1040–1105). According to him it is not merely an assertion of God's essential unity, but a declaration that "the Lord who now is worshipped by Israel will hereafter be alone worshipped by all mankind, and will thus be the only God in recognition, as He is already in truth."[2]

Understood in Rashi's sense the first clause of the *Shema'* may be compared with the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come," and with the frequent expressions of a similar aspiration that occur elsewhere in the Jewish liturgy.[3]

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[1] It is also the last utterance to be said by the dying Israelite on his deathbed (see Singer, p. 317); note also its repetition in the rehearsal of the deathbed scene at the conclusion service for the Day of Atonement (Singer p. 269).

[2] Cf. Rashi on Deut. 6[4]. The average Jew, however, still firmly believes that Christians worship three Gods.

[3] E.g., especially in the Kaddish: "Magnified and sanctified be His great name in the world which He hath created," etc. (Singer, p. 37).

The second section of the *Shema'* (Deut. 11^{13-21}) contains promises of reward for obedience to the Divine commandments, and threats of punishment for disobedience. The third section (Num. 15^{37-41}) embraces the commandment relating to the fringe and the "corners of the garments" to the literal performance of which so much importance is attached by orthodox Jews. The *Shema'* may thus be regarded as a sort of elementary creed, but it is by no means a formal one. The necessity for formulating the articles of Israel's belief was not felt to exist till a comparatively late date (twelfth century A.D.), when Maimonides summed them up under thirteen paragraphs (cf. Singer p. 89). This, however, has never been formally adopted by the Jews, though it is recited in the Synagogue, and in a metrical form (see Singer, p. 2, known as *Yigdal*) often sung by the congregation. It is noticeable that the contents of the *Shema'* correspond to the second and eleventh articles of Maimonides' Creed (God's unity, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments).

As already stated the recitation of the *Shema'* is preceded and followed, both in the evening and morning, by benedictions; both in the evening and morning it is preceded by two, while in the evening it is followed by two, and in the morning by one. The first Blessing that precedes in the evening (cf. Singer p. 96) gives thankful expression for the providential order by which day is divided from night. The next, known as *'Ahăbāh* (=Love) from its opening word, is a thanksgiving for God's love to Israel, as shown in His gift of the Law.[1]

The last clause (of the third section) of the *Shema'* refers to the deliverance from Egypt. Hence the Benediction that immediately follows both in the evening and the morning has reference to redemption (Heb. *guellah*) and in each case it closes with the words: *Blessed*

[1] The evening *'Ahabah* differs in diction from that of the morning, and is probably of later origin.

art Thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel.[1] It is a thanksgiving for the crowning act of redemption from Egyptian bondage by which Israel became a nation and Jehovah's people. From Jer. 23[7] it seems probable that reference to the deliverance from Egypt in the public services goes back to the time of the first Temple. The Benediction that follows (the second) is peculiar to the evening, and is one of the most beautiful compositions in the Jewish liturgy (cf. Singer, pp. 99, 100). The *morning Benedictions* are almost certainly of greater antiquity than those of the evening.[2] The former consist of two preceding and one following the recitation of the *Shema'*. The first of these is the great Benediction over the creation of light (cf. Singer, pp. 37–39), and in what was probably its original form was quite short. In this form it was a thanksgiving for the creation of natural light, the light of day, and was thus implicitly a protest against Persian dualism with its gods of light and darkness (Ormuzd and Ahriman), and against sun- moon- and star-worship. The second Benediction, known, as already explained, from its opening word as Ahăbāh (= Love) is a thanksgiving for the light of revelation as given to God's people in the Law (Tôrāh). As a Jewish Rabbi (Asher of Lunel) has well remarked: "The sun gives light only in the daytime, the Tôrāh by day and by night; as Psalm 19 praises God first for the sun and then for the Tôrāh (Law) which enlightens the mind, so should we also give praise in these two Benedictions." [3]

The Benediction that follows the morning *Shema'* is, as already stated, that known as *gĕullāh* (=*Redemption*).[4] In its essence this is a thanksgiving for the

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[1] The technical name of the whole Benediction is *geŭllāh*. See for the full form (for the evening) Singer, pp. 98, 99.

[2] It is probable that the Shema in its present form was originally designed for the morning service only.

[3] Cf., *JE*, i, p. 281 (*s.v.* *'Ahabah Rabbah*).

[4] See Singer, pp. 42–44.

redemption from Egypt. But here again a great deal of amplification has taken place. Originally the subject of the Benediction was thanksgiving for past, not request for future, redemption. In its present form, however, a petition has been inserted towards the end (see Singer, p. 44), which runs : *O Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Israel, and deliver, according to Thy promise, Judah and Israel.*

Of the other inserted matter one of the longest pieces is that near the beginning of the Benediction, commencing with the words : *It is true the God of the Universe is our King*, and ending : *There is no God beside Thee* (cf. Singer, pp. 42, 43). Here the two main thoughts are the unchangeable validity of the Law, and the assertion that God alone is Redeemer. The latter was probably intended as a protest against Christianity.[1]

V. " Kaddish and Prayers for the Dead."

Side by side with the *Shema'* and the *Eighteen Blessings* may be ranked in importance the formula known as *Kaddîsh*. The *Kaddîsh* fulfils much the same function in the Jewish services that the Lord's Prayer does in Christian offices. It introduces different stages in the service. Thus in its responsive form it introduces the *Shema'* and its blessings (cf. Singer, p. 37). It also is used in a longer and shorter form, and, strangely enough, partially corresponds in substance to the Christian prayer. Its most important clauses contain a prayer

[1] Cf. also in the same context the sentence : " True it is that Thou art indeed the first, and Thou art the last, and beside Thee we have no King, Redeemer or Saviour " (Singer, p. 43). Similar expressions occur elsewhere in the liturgy (usually later insertions). It is noticeable that the Christian idea of redemption *from sin* never occurs. While in the New Testament the idea of redemption has been wholly spiritualized, in the devotional literature of the Synagogue the old national and materialistic associations still cling to it. The contrast between the two conceptions is marked, and the spiritual and religious advance of the Christian one is obvious.

for the sanctification (or hallowing) of God's name and the establishment of His kingdom throughout the world (=the second and third petitions of the Lord's Prayer). This runs as follows :—

Magnified and sanctified be His great name in the world which He hath created according to His will. May He establish His Kingdom during your life and during your days, and during the life of all the House of Israel even speedily and at a near time, and say ye Amen.[1]

A curious custom has grown up in connexion with this prayer. A special form of it known as " Mourners' *Kaddîsh* " (cf. Singer, p. 77), is recited by mourners during the first year after the death of a parent, and on the anniversaries afterwards. The mourners present mount the *bema,* and clad in the praying-shawl (*talîth*) chant in a body the reader's part of the prayer, receiving the responses of the congregation. The prayer is in no sense in itself a prayer *for* the dead, but the public recitation of it in this fashion by a son is regarded as proof of the piety of the dead, as represented by a pious survivor. In this connexion it may be noted that on certain days (four) in the year,[2] prayers are said in the Ashkenazic Synagogues for the souls of dead parents or relatives. Only those who have actually suffered bereavement take part in these exercises—others leaving the synagogue for the time being. Each person prays independently ; for a dead father thus :—

May God remember the soul of my honoured father (naming him) who has gone to his eternal home ; on whose behalf I vow alms ; by way of reward, be his soul bound up in the bundle of life (*cf.* 1 Sam. 25^{29}) *with the Souls of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel*

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[1] The whole is said by the reader, the congregation joining in the Amen.

[2] Viz., the eighth day of Passover, second of Pentecost, Day of Atonement, and eighth day of Tabernacles (Shemini Atsereth).

and Leah, and all other righteous men and women that are in the Garden of Eden, and let us say Amen.[1]

In many Synagogues a sort of bidding prayer is read by the cantor on the great festivals; a list of names of dead pious donors being read out, and a commemoration being made of them. Bequests are made for this special purpose, or donations given by surviving relatives. A requiem for the souls of the martyrs is also said in the morning service for certain Sabbaths (cf. Singer, p. 155.)

VI. The Arrangement of the Prayers.

The prayers that make up the Jewish Liturgy may be classified as follows: They consist of *Benedictions* (i.e. as we have seen, special forms of thanksgiving for various occasions, or for use before or after the performance of some religious duty); passages from Scripture and Rabbinical Literature about *Sacrifices;* specimen-passages from the post-Biblical Literature which are intended to remind the good Jew of the importance of *sacred study* as a religious obligation; *Psalms* and *Hymns* of praise and thanksgiving; *Confession of faith,* as embodied in the *Shema'* (Deut. 6^4 f., "Hear, O Israel," etc.), and in the Creed of Maimonides; Petition—prayers for the granting of various benefits, always, or almost always with reference to Israel. The most important of these are embodied in the great *Amîdāh* prayer (the so-called "Eighteen Blessings"); *Confession of sin and supplication for forgiveness.* The element of confession (*widduy*) has been elaborately worked out, especially in connexion with the Atonement-Day Services. Prayers of supplication (*tachanûnîm*) are also frequent, and special litanies of forgiveness (*selîchôth*), in poetical form, have been elaborated. The latter are used in

[1] Cf. Singer, p. 326.

connexion with the penitential period culminating in the Day of Atonement.[1]

Some idea of the ordering and arrangement of a Jewish Synagogue-service can be formed from a short analysis of one of the typical services—the daily morning prayer. The characteristic features and arrangement of this recur, with modifications in all the other services.

The morning service, as set forth in Singer (pp. 1–94), is made up as follows, and in the following order :—

(1) *Blessings of the Morning.* These refer to the change from night to day, from sleep to fresh life, from rest to activity (Singer, p. 4. ff.). They were originally intended for private devotion at home.

(2) *Sacrifices and Study.* Passages from the Bible and post-biblical writings referring to the daily sacrificia lservice in the Temple (Singer, p. 9 ff.), and an extract from the *Baraitha* (Singer, p. 13 f.) ; cf. also the short extract from the *Mishnah*, p. 5. These passages were[2] inserted as a short sample and minimum of study.

(3) *Psalms and sections of praise.* Various psalms and psalm-pieces, culminating in the Red-Sea Song (Exodus 15), and closing with the "Benediction of Song" (Singer, pp. 17–36) :

(4) *Half-Kaddish.* Introducing the *Shema'* ("Hear, O Israel," etc.), and its eulogies (before and after it) (Singer, pp. 37–44) :

(5) *The Shĕmōnēh 'Esrēh* ("Eighteen Blessings") or *Amîdāh-prayer* (Singer, pp. 44–54) :

(6) *Supplications* (tachanûnîm), pp. 54–62, followed by "And David said" (p. 62), Ps. 6 (penitential),

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[1] From the New Year (Tisri 1 and 2) to the Day of Atonement (Tisri 10) a penitential period of great solemnity is observed ("the ten days of Penitence").

[2] The reading of the pieces about sacrifice was also considered as, in some sort, a substitute for the actual offering of the same.

"O Guardian of Israel" (pp. 64–65) and *Half Kaddish.*

(7) *Psalms* 145 and 20, followed by "And a Redeemer shall come," and "But Thou art holy," etc. (pp. 71–75); then—

(8) *Full Kaddish,* "It is our duty" and "Mourners' *Kaddish*" (pp. 75–78); and finally—

(9) *The Psalm for the Day* (p. 80 ff.).

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Sabbath.

The Sabbath not a Burden—The "Hallowing" of the Sabbath—The Weekly Lesson from the Pentateuch and the Prophets—The Sabbath Rest from Labour, etc.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Sabbath-rest of the Jews is to them a rigorous and exacting observance, so austere in its demands as to kill out all joy and loveliness. On the contrary, it appeals to the real Jew as a divinely-given rest from the turmoil and bitter opposition of a hostile world. It is—and always has been among the Jews—essentially a festal observance. The more opposition and persecution have crystallized without, the more passionate has the attachment of the Jew become to what he regards as the most precious legacy of his national past.

It is true that like all Jewish observances its external setting has been rigorously fixed and defined by Law, and as a consequence the institution of the Sabbath has been liable to the dangers that especially beset legalism—externalism and formalism. It is necessary, however, to guard against the mistake of refusing to recognize beneath all the forbidding exterior of Rabbinical enactments about the thirty-nine kinds of work not permitted on the Sabbath, etc., the heart of passionate feeling and emotional tenderness that pulsates behind.

One of the most beautiful expressions of Jewish sentiment about the Sabbath is to be found in the hymn sung every Friday evening in the Synagogue in which the Sabbath is compared to a bride, and bidden to come to her husband who awaits her—the Almighty.[1] In the

[1] See Singer, p. 111 f.: from its opening words it is called *lekah dodi*.

excellent English version of Mrs. H. Lucas the first four stanzas run as follows:

Come forth, my Friend, the bride to meet;
Come, O my Friend, the Sabbath greet!
"Observe ye" and "remember" still
The Sabbath—thus His holy will
God in one utterance did proclaim.
The Lord is one, and one His name
To his renown and praise and fame.
Come forth, etc.

Greet we the Sabbath at our door,
Well spring of blessing evermore,
With everlasting gladness fraught,
Of old ordained, divinely taught,
Last in creation, first in thought.
Come forth, etc.

Arouse thyself, awake and shine,
For lo! it comes, the light divine.
Give forth a song, for over thee
The glory of the Lord shall be
Revealed in beauty speedily.
Come forth, etc.

Crown of thy Husband, come in peace,
Come, bidding toil and trouble cease.
With joy and cheerfulness abide
Among thy people true and tried,
Thy faithful people—Come, O bride!
Come forth, my Friend, the bride to meet,
Come, O my Friend, the Sabbath greet!

The duties and obligations connected with the Sabbath are summed up in the code of Maimonides under four terms, derived from the corresponding Biblical enactments. These are: (*a*) "Remember"—the term with which the fourth commandment, as given in Exodus 20^{8} begins; (*b*) "Take heed" (the corresponding term in Deut. 5^{12}); (*c*) "Honour" and (*d*) "Delight"—these last two terms being derived from the great prophetic passage on the Sabbath in Is. 58^{13-14}.

I. The Hallowing of the Sabbath.

The commandment regarding the Sabbath as given in Exodus runs: *Remember the Sabbath Day to sanctify it* (keep it holy). The traditional way of explaining the

term "remember" in this injunction is "remember it over the wine" (T.B. *Pesach*, 107[a]); and the ceremonies in which this is carried out are known as *Kiddush* or "Sanctification" and *Habdalah* or "Separation" ("Distinction").

Before sunset and darkness on Friday the Jewish wife lights in the dining-room extra candles or a special lamp in honour of the Sabbath, pronouncing over them, as she does so:

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and commanded us to light the Sabbath lamp.

On the return of the father with his sons from the Synagogue service (for the women rarely attend Synagogue on Friday night), they find the table prepared—spread with a clean tablecloth, and at the head (where the father sits) two loaves of bread (which are, as a rule, specially baked for the occasion), in memory of the double portion of manna which was gathered on Fridays. These are covered with a napkin: near them stands an empty cup, and close to this a jug or bottle of wine to fill it. The husband begins by chanting the praise of a virtuous wife.[1] He then begins the *Kiddûsh* proper. This is prefaced by the verses in Genesis relating the work of creation on the sixth day and the seventh. Then he fills the cup and holding it up, proceeds:—

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe; the Creator of the fruit of the vine. Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and wast pleased with us, and hast given us for a heritage, in love and favour, Thy holy Sabbath, a memorial of the work of creation. For it precedes all the holy convocations, in memory of the going forth from Egypt. For Thou hast chosen us, and hast hallowed us above all nations, and hast given us in love and favour Thy

[1] Cf. Singer, p. 123.

holy Sabbath for a heritage. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who hallowest the Sabbath.

The father then drinks from the cup, hands it to his wife, and she to the children and others at the table, all drinking from it. Then follows the ceremony of washing the hands. The husband then utters the benediction for bread :

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who bringest forth bread from the earth.

And he proceeds to cut one loaf, taking a piece for himself and distributing pieces to the others. If wine is not at hand, the washing of hands takes places first, and the benediction over bread is substituted for that over wine, and the bread cut and distributed at once. Then follows the Sabbath meal.

It should be added that the *Kiddûsh* also exists in a purely *verbal* form in the Friday evening service at Synagogue (which, of course, precedes the Sabbath meal just described). There it forms the middle section of the *Amidah* Prayer. (See Singer, pp. 116, 117.)

And also, since Talmudic times, it has been customary in the Synagogue for the reader to sanctify over the cup near the end of the service.[1] This is decidedly irregular, as the *Kiddûsh* ceremony ought to be performed at the place of the meal, i.e., at home. It seems to have arisen from the custom which existed in the middle ages of providing for poor travellers. They were lodged and fed either in rooms adjoining the Synagogue, or even in the Synagogue itself. "It was for these that the reader recited *Kiddûsh*, before they commenced the evening meal, as most probably wine was not served to all."[2] Hence the ceremony is placed at the end of the service. The special circumstances which gave rise to the custom have long since disappeared—poor travellers no longer

[1] The reader does not, however, drink himself, but usually lets some children take a few drops from the cup.

[2] Friedländer.

being provided for in this way. But the ceremony is still, nevertheless, retained as part of the Synagogue service. The only exception is the first two nights of Passover, when there has never been any need to read *Kiddûsh* in the Synagogue. On these nights the poor were provided with four cups of wine each, and they recited *Kiddûsh* by themselves as part of the Seder (Passover Meal). *Kiddûsh* it may be added is not confined to the Sabbath. The festivals also are preceded in exactly the same way by a solemn "sanctification." Thus there is a *Kiddûsh* for Passover, Weeks (i.e., Pentecost), and Tabernacles, and the 8th Day of Solemn Assembly. The ceremony is substantially the same in all cases, wine being used and a festive meal following, only the blessings being varied to suit the special character of the day. Thus the *Kiddûsh*-cup is the first of the four Passover Cups. The remarkable likeness in form of this ceremony to the Christian Eucharist must have already suggested itself to the reader.[1] There is also another kindred ceremony which takes place on the *mornings* of Sabbaths and Festivals, and which is called (in irony according to Dembitz) *Great Kiddûsh*—"great" because of its slight importance. It is celebrated before breakfast; certain appropriate verses from Scripture are recited; then the benediction over a cup of wine or strong drink; then the benediction over bread and the meal. The passages recited are Ez. $31^{16,17}$; 20^{8-11} and Is. $58^{13,14}$, for the Sabbath morning.[2] It will have been noticed that the Sabbath is specially connected not only with the work of creation, but with *the deliverance from Egypt* whereby Israel was made a nation. This latter connexion has a Biblical basis in the Deuteronomic version of the Ten Commandments, where as an additional

[1] See further on this point an art. by G. H. Box on "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist," in *The Journal of Theological Studies* ii, 357 f. (1902).

[2] Cf. Singer, p. 174.

reason for the sabbath-rest being shared by man-servant and maid-servant, Israel is reminded that *thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm; therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.*[1]

The other ceremony to which reference has been made is called *Habdālāh*, i.e., *separation*, and takes place on Saturday evening after the going out of the Sabbath. After the evening service at Synagogue the family returns to the house. The constituents of the ceremony are a cup of wine, a lighted wax candle, and a spice-box. Certain verses of scripture having been recited, the blessing over wine is said, followed by one for the "light rays of the fire," another "for many kinds of spices," and lastly by the *Habdālāh* proper which runs thus :—

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, Who distinguishest between holy and profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the nations, between the seventh day and the six work-days; Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who distinguishest between holy and profane.[2]

The wine is then drunk, and the wax candle is put out with drops from the cup.

Here again a purely verbal form has been embodied in the Synagogue-prayers. In the evening service for Saturdays "separation" is introduced in the fourth benediction in the *Amidah*-Prayer.[3] The Talmud says quaintly: "When the children of Israel were poor, it was ordained to 'separate' in the Prayer (i.e., in the *Amidah*-Prayer at the Synagogue-service); when they got to be rich, to 'separate' over the cup (i.e., at Home); then they got poor again, and again separated in the Prayer." Now, of course, both are done as described (at Home and

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[1] Deut. 5^{15}. [2] Cf. Singer, p. 216 f.
[3] Cf. Singer, p. 46.

in the Synagogue).[1] But to resume our description of the home-ceremony. After the drinking of the wine hymns follow.

The opening stanza of one of these, as rendered by Mrs. Lucas, runs thus :—

> May He Who sets the holy and profane
> Apart, blot out our sins before His sight,
> And make our numbers as the sand again,
> And as the stars of night.

In another hymn they pray to God to send speedily Elijah the prophet, Elijah the Tishbite, Elijah the Gileadite, and the Anointed King.

A few customs connected with the *Habdālāh* ceremony are worth noting.

(1) The wine when poured into the cup, is allowed to flow over (a symbol of joy).

(2) Some dip the finger in wine and pass it over their eyes, in allusion to the words of Ps. 19[9]: *The Commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes.* Devotion to the divine Law is so expressed.

(3) Only males partake of the *Habdālāh* wine. It is the rule for Jewish women to abstain from wine and strong drink. They only partake of the *Kiddûsh* wine because of its importance. If a festival falls on a Sunday (i.e., begins on Saturday night) the *Habdālāh* is still said (only in a slightly modified form) as the sanctity of Sabbath is superior to that of the festival. In such a case the modified *Habdālāh* is combined with the *Kiddûsh* of the Festival.

Of the antiquity of *Kiddûsh* and *Habdālāh* there can be no possible doubt. The Talmud (*Berakhoth* 51[b]) records that it was a matter in dispute between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai as to whether the *Kiddûsh*

[1] It should be added that besides the separation in the *Amidah*-Prayer, the full *Habdālāh* service is recited by the Reader in Synagogue at the end of the service for the conclusion of the Sabbath (cf. Singer, p. 215).

should come first and then the benediction over the wine, or *vice versâ*. Thus the custom was already a well-established one in pre-Christian times.

II. The Weekly Lesson from the Pentateuch and Prophets.

Another way in which the special sanctity of the Sabbath is marked and emphasized is by the form and substance of the Sabbath-Services in the Synagogue, especially that of Sabbath-morning. Not only is this service lengthened by the running on to it of the *musaf* or "additional" service, but in the morning service itself certain special features occur, such as the substitution in the middle of the *Amidah*-prayer (or "eighteen Benedictions") of a single paragraph relating to the Sabbath instead of the thirteen middle paragraphs that ordinarily stand in the week-day forms of the Prayer.[1] But the most important feature about the Sabbath-morning service is the reading of the Lessons and the connected ceremonies. The most sacred thing in a Synagogue is the scroll of the Law; and the central and most solemn point in the great Synagogue service of the week—that on Saturday morning—is reached when the Reader and other Synagogue-officials proceed solemnly to the Ark and bring back the sacred scroll to the reading-desk for the reading of the weekly lection.

The Pentateuch-lessons may only lawfully be read from a specially prepared parchment scroll which is known as *Sefer Torah*. Ordinary printed editions on paper are not allowed for this purpose. For reading purposes the Pentateuch has been divided into fifty-four sections

[1] The first three and last three paragraphs of the *Amidah* are invariably said; but the middle thirteen are only said on ordinary weekdays: on Sabbaths and Festivals their place is taken by one (or more) long paragraph bearing on the special character of the day. (Cf. Singer, pp. 138–139: "Moses rejoiced . . . O Lord Who hallowest the Sabbath" for this special Sabbath paragraph.)

to cover a year. As in some cases the requisite number of Sabbaths does not occur in the year two sections are occasionally read instead of one The section for each week is called by the Germans *Sidra*, by the Sefardim *parashah*.[1] The Sidras are sometimes of great length.[2] To the ordinary Jew the first subsection of the Sidra is usually more familiar than the others, because it is read (in anticipation of the following Sabbath) on the previous Sabbath afternoon, and again in the morning service of Monday and Thursday (which were the old market days in Palestine).

The Pentateuch-lesson is distributed among various persons who are said to be " called up " to the reading. The *Mishnah*-rule about this is as follows :

> On Mondays and Thursdays and on Saturday afternoons three read, neither more nor less ; on new moons (*chodesh*) and middle-days of Festivals (*Chol ha-moed*) which are reckoned half-holidays, four, neither more nor less ; on full Festival-days five ; on the Day of Atonement six ; on the Sabbath seven—never less (but there may be more). None should read in the *Torah* less than three verses.

It is the function of the Leader (*Segan*) to call up these 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (or more) men to the reading-desk (*shulchan*). Formerly each person so called read his allotted portion himself : but this is now always done by the Chazzan or Reader, the person called simply standing by the side of the former and following the text as it is read.

> When a Cohen (i.e., a person of priestly descent) is present he is called first ; then a Levite ; and finally five ordinary Israelites. Each of these recites a blessing before and after the reading of his subsection (cf. Singer, p. 146 f.). The last person called is designated *maftir* with reference to the *Haftarah* or prophetic lesson which the *maftir* often reads. *Haftarah* means " leave-giving " or " dismissal " [3] and is

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[1] By the Germans, however, the term *parashah* is applied to the *subsections* into which the *Sidra* is divided.

[2] There are indications that a three-year cycle of lessons once existed (in Palestine); but this has now completely disappeared.

[3] Cf. the name " Mass " derived from the formula of dismissal, " ite missa est " (as usually explained).

applied to the prophetic lesson because at one time the service seems to have concluded with the latter. The Haftarah is usually read by one person—sometimes even by boys under thirteen—from a printed book with vowels and accents, not from a scroll.

The yearly cycle of Pentateuch lessons ends on *Simchath Torah* ("Rejoicing of the Law") the ninth day of Tabernacles, i.e., Tisri 23. On that day the last section of the Law is read, and the person who is called up for this section is styled "Bridegroom of the Law" (*Chathan Torah*). On the same day, also, the first chapter of Genesis is read, and the person called up to this is designated "Bridegroom of Genesis" (*Chathan Bereshith*). In both cases the actual persons called up [1] often read the allotted portions themselves, as the *Bar-Mitzvah* does. In all other cases the reading or rather cantillation is performed by the *chazzan*. The ceremonial taking of the scroll from and returning it to the Ark forms the most solemn part of the service. There is a procession to the accompaniment of singing by the choir. Full details are given in Singer, pp. 145–148. After the Pentateuch lesson has been concluded, and before the Prophetic lesson is read, the ceremony of the *hagbahah* or "elevation" of the Scroll takes place. The leader holds up the scroll on high, turning round with it in different directions so that all may see it. At the same time the congregation repeats the formula beginning: "This is the Law which Moses set before the Children of Israel," etc. (Singer, p. 148). With the Sefardim this ceremony *precedes* the reading of the Law.

III. The Sabbath-rest from Labour, etc.

In accordance with the commandment, "Thou shalt do no manner of work" on the Sabbath Day, various forms of labour, or what was defined by the Rabbis as "work" are prohibited. As is well known,

[1] To be called up on this occasion is regarded as a special honour.

travelling or going beyond a certain distance ("a Sabbath day's journey") is disallowed (cf. Exod. 16^{29}; Acts 1^{12}), no fire may be kindled (cf. Exod. 35^{3}), and all buying and selling is forbidden (cf. Neh. 13^{15}). In the *Mishnah* (*Shabbath* vii, 2) thirty-nine kinds of work are prohibited. These include "ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing, grinding, baking, hunting, killing an animal, tanning, sewing, writing, kindling light or fire, and carrying things abroad." Such things as riding in a carriage or vehicle, playing music, etc., are also held to be unlawful in strict circles. As it is also regarded as unlawful actually to handle money on Sabbath and festivals there are no collections in the Synagogue-service similar to our collections in church. Instead sums of money are promised or vowed, the names of donors being announced, or rather invoked in blessing at the Desk. As, further, it is illegal to write, or use pen, paper, or ink, a difficulty naturally arises about registering amounts and names of donors on such occasions, which has been overcome by the use of string and an ingenious arrangement of perforated stuff.

As has already been mentioned the day is regarded as a high festival. All fasting and mourning is prohibited, and the Sabbath-meals have a festive character.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Festivals.

Passover: the Preparation; the *Seder* or "Home-Festival"; the Passover Synagogue Services—Pentecost: "The Counting of the Omer"; the Festival—Tabernacles—Dedication—*Purim*.

I. Passover.

The season of Passover forms quite an epoch in Jewish social life. The "Passover-holidays" are eagerly looked forward to by all sorts and conditions of Jews as a time of family reunion, a period for the renewal of old friendships and the interchange of social amenities, and an opportunity for the exercise of hospitality and the consolidation of racial bonds. As such the Passover season plays an immensely important part in maintaining the ties which—in spite of the decay of orthodox Jewish beliefs in many quarters—keep the members of the Jewish community apart and distinct.

Many a Jew who has long since yielded to the disintegrating influences of modern culture still finds the old family associations of this festival strong enough to draw him to the festal board. He finds himself unable to resist the tender memories and the bonds of good fellowship that cling around the *Seder*-table. The Feast of Passover falls in "the first month of the year" (Exod. 12^{2}) i.e. Nisan, or, to give it its old Hebrew name Abib (Exod. 13^{4}, etc.). According to the Biblical injunction the lamb was to be slain on the afternoon of Nisan 14, and eaten the same evening, which would be counted the beginning of Nisan 15. From this time for seven days (i.e. Nisan 15–21) unleavened bread was to be eaten (cf. Exod. 14^{18} f.), no leaven of any kind being permitted to remain in the houses of Israelites. The first

and seventh days (i.e. Nisan 15 and 21) were to be observed as "holy convocations" (Exod. 12^{16}), i.e. full holy days, the intervening days being half-holidays.

But from time immemorial the Jews outside of Palestine have added a day to their principal festivals. Thus Passover now lasts *eight* days (viz. from Nisan 15 to 22) instead of seven; and *two* days are kept as "holy convocations," at the beginning (Nisan 15 and 16) and end of the festival (Nisan 21 and 22), instead of the one in each case enjoined in Scripture. The explanation of this custom has already been given above.[1]

The observances connected with the Passover-festival can conveniently be described under the following heads: (1) the Preparation; (2) the Home-Festival (*Seder*[2]); and (3) the services in the Synagogue.

i. *The Preparation.*

Elaborate preparations have always been made for the due observance of the festival. In the time of our Lord these (in Palestine) began in *the middle of the month preceding Nisan* (*Adar*), and included the repairing of roads and bridges, and the whitening anew of sepulchres. It was also a specially busy time in the matter of ceremonial and other kinds of purification. In modern days, also, elaborate preparation in the home is the rule. This begins some considerable time before the date of the festival. The house is turned out from top to bottom, and every particle of leaven that can be discovered is carefully removed. This has given rise to an interesting ceremony. After the cleansing process has been completed, on the evening which begins the 14th of Nisan (i.e. the evening preceding the festival), the head of the family (or his representative) proceeds to make a formal search throughout the house, with a

[1] See pp. 322 ff.

[2] "Seder" = "order," "service"; the home-festival of the first two nights (consisting of a banquet with religious ceremonial) is so described.

lighted candle for leaven.[1] Every nook and corner is thoroughly investigated, and it is customary to make a point of having a little leaven available in order that it may be "discovered" and then placed in some convenient spot till the morning. After the first meal of the morning all leaven must be removed, i.e. as Dr. Friedländer explains, either sold, or given as a present to a non-Israelite or destroyed. This is known as *Bî'ûr-chāmets* ("Destruction or removal of leaven"). The formal search, like the performance of other religious duties, is preceded by a blessing: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the removal of leaven."[2]

After the completion of the search in the evening, the following declaration is uttered (in Aramaic):—

> All leaven that is in my house which I have not seen, and have not removed, I declare annulled, and to be of no more worth to me than the dust of the earth.

The next morning all leaven (reserved or otherwise) is solemnly burnt after breakfast, and a similar declaration is made. Henceforth, no leaven is tolerated in the house during the rest of the festival; and unleavened cakes only are eaten in place of leavened bread.[3]

Another important part of the preparation consists in the provision of "kosher" utensils (i.e., utensils free from contact with *chamets* or "leaven") for use during the festival. This means either that a brand-new set of vessels is provided, or a set that is specially kept for Passover-purposes is brought out. In some

[1] The technical name for this is *bedikath chamets*, "search for leaven." Cf. Zeph. 1^{12}.

[2] This is said, of course, in Hebrew (as are all the prayers quoted. Some, however, are written in Aramaic).

[3] Hence the name "Feast of Unleavened Bread," frequently used in the Gospels. Possibly the Passover and the "Feast of Unleavened Bread" were originally regarded as distinct festivals (so among the Samaritans at the present day). But in the Jewish observance the distinction has disappeared.

cases vessels that have been in ordinary use may be employed, but only after having undergone a drastic process of ritual cleansing. During the afternoon the table is prepared for the *Seder*-meal, which is begun after the return of the male members of the family from the Synagogue. The arrangement and furnishing of this are described below.

ii. *The Home-Festival* (*Seder*).

The most interesting and important feature of the Passover is the service celebrated at home on the first two nights of the festival. This is known as the " Seder."

As already mentioned, the preparation of the *Seder*-table and the room or rooms to be used takes place in the afternoon. The table is set in the following manner : At the head, immediately in front of the celebrant, is the *Seder*-dish. On this are placed three large, specially baked, unleavened cakes (*matsoth ;* pronounced " motsos " by the Ashkenazic Jews), each wrapped up in a cloth ; and on top of these a hard-boiled egg, a roasted shank-bone, " *charoseth* " (a mixture of scraped apples and almonds or nuts with raisins and cinnamon), a saucer with salt water and bitter herbs (horse-radish) and parsley (*moror*=" bitter "). The table is also furnished with wine and cups, glasses, or goblets for each person, an extra cup being provided for the Prophet Elijah, in case of his sudden arrival. Large chairs with cushions or pillows are also set for the master (or celebrant) and mistress of the house (but not always for the latter). Each of these elements possesses a symbolical significance. Thus, of the three unleavened cakes, two are explained to represent the " double portion " of Sabbath and Holy Day, while the third represents the " bread of poverty." " The bread of poverty is intended to remind us of the bread of poverty or affliction eaten by our forefathers when kept as slaves in Egypt." [1]

[1] Friedländer, *Jewish Religion*, p. 380, note.

The Passover Table Spread

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The "bitter herbs" (*moror*) are emblematic of the hard service of the Israelites in Egypt. The "*charoseth*," on account of its brown colour, is representative of the clay out of which Israelites made bricks.[1] The shank-bone is a relic of the paschal lamb; and the hard-boiled egg stands for the daily free-will offering (*chagîgah*) brought during the festival to the Temple.

During the *Seder*-service each person present drinks four cups of wine. The wine generally employed is made of raisins (unfermented). But now Palestine wine is frequently used.

In broad outline, the service proceeds as follows. It is opened by the sanctification of the day (*Kiddûsh*), after which the first cup of wine is drunk; then follow the washing of the hands[2] and the distribution to all present of some parsley and lettuce which is eaten with a blessing. The "afikoman" is set aside; and (after the shank-bone and egg have been temporarily removed) the *Seder*-dish is taken hold of by the company, who, on lifting it, utter an invitation to all who are needy to share in the festival. Then follow the questions by the youngest child present, which introduce the reply. This is the *Haggādāh* proper, or "telling forth" in narrative form, with comments, stories, and explanations interspersed, of the history of Israel's slavery in Egypt, the Exodus, and the birth of the nation. The *Haggādāh* proper is concluded by the recitation of the first part of the Hallel (Pss. 113, 114), after which the second cup of wine (the "cup of the *Haggādāh*") is drunk. The washing of the hands[3] (preparatory to the partaking of the meal) now follows, after which

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[1] This is the popular explanation. In fact, the "charoseth" is a kind of Oriental sauce used with such edibles as bitter herbs. Into it the horse-radish should be dipped. The Rabbis speak of it as an antidote against possible ill effects of the bitter herbs.

[2] By the celebrant only.

[3] By all the company.

the two unleavened cakes are distributed in small portions to the company, and partaken of; also the "bitter herbs" (horse-radish) dipped in the "charoseth." "Hillel's ceremony" concludes this part of the service. The evening meal (or banquet) is then partaken of, followed, of course, by the usual "Grace after meals" which finishes with the drinking of the third cup of wine. Before Grace is said, however, the "afikoman" is distributed to those present.

After Grace, the door is opened, the fourth cup of wine filled, the concluding part of the Hallel (Pss. 115–118) and the "Great Hallel" (Ps. 136) recited, and also the "Benediction of Song."

The proceedings are brought to an end by the singing of certain popular poetical pieces, which will be enumerated below.

Such is the *Seder*-service in broad outline. It remains to explain more fully some of the more striking and interesting features. As will have been seen, the actual sequence is somewhat complicated. Even the Jews have felt this, and have recourse to a series of rhymed (Hebrew) catchwords to remind them of the correct ordering of the ceremonial. These translated are as follows: (1) sancify; (2) wash; (3) greens; (4) divide; (5) tells; (6) washing; (7) brings forth unleavened; (8) bitter; (9) wraps; (10) the table set; (11) laid aside; (12) Grace; (13) Hallel; (14) accepted. It will be convenient in setting forth further details to follow the numbered programme given above.[1]

(1) The first cup of the Passover is the *Kiddûsh cup*, by which both Sabbaths and the festivals are sanctified.

(2) The celebrant only at this point washes his hands

[1] The full *Haggādāh* service can easily be obtained in Hebrew and English. Citations are here made from the edition edited by the Rev. A. A. Green with notes (*The Revised Hagada*). London: Greenberg & Co.

to qualify him for his priestly functions for the time being.

(3) At this point parsley is dipped in salt water and distributed by the celebrant, who utters a blessing, and the company partake. The parsley so dipped is supposed to represent the hyssop dipped in blood (Exod. 12 [22]).

(4) The celebrant now "breaks in two the middle *matsah* (unleavened cake), leaving one half on the *Seder*-dish, and placing the other half aside as the "afikoman" (Green). The last word, which appears in the *Mishnah* in a Hebrew dress, is clearly Greek, and may mean "the aftermeal entertainment," or "what comes later" (*ephikomenon*), i.e. dessert.[1] At any rate, the portion so broken off is "hidden" for the time being (placed under the pillow of the celebrant's chair), and afterwards broken and distributed, and eaten by the company as the last morsel.[2] Sometimes, apparently, the *afikoman* is preserved until the following year, and then burnt with the leaven on the eve of the next Passover.

After the reservation of the *afikoman*, the shank-bone and egg are removed from the *Seder*-dish, which is then taken hold of by the company, and elevated, the following formula being recited:

> "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt! Let all who are hungry come in and eat; let all who require come in and celebrate the Passover. This year here—next year in the land of Israel! This year as slaves—next year free!"[3]

(5) The shank-bone and egg are now replaced, and

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[1] eppîqômān = perhaps ἐπὶ κῶμον comessatum ire.

[2] The custom is probably a survival of an earlier time, when a part of the paschal lamb was reserved till the end of the feast, and then distributed in morsels to be eaten, in order that the lamb should be the last thing actually tasted. The curious custom of the children "snatching" the *afikoman*, and then getting it redeemed by presents, is based upon a mistranslation of a passage in the Talmud (see Green, p. 25, note).

[3] The formula is in Aramaic, and dates from the early years of stress in exile during the Roman period.

the youngest child present proceeds to ask the question as to the peculiarities of this night as distinguished from other nights.[1] Then follows the telling (*haggādāh*) by way of response. It begins :

> We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt, and the Lord our God brought us forth from thence with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, etc. (cf. Green, pp. 27 ff.).

The material of the " narration " is varied and interesting, but too long to quote. It ranges over the four kinds of sons—the wise, the wicked, the simple, and the infant—the questions they ask, and the replies appropriate to them, suggested by several passages in the Law ; [2] followed by an edifying discourse on the providential ordering of Israel's history, by which they were led from the idolatry of ancestors to the worship of the true God, through wonderful experiences (Green, pp. 33 ff.), with a grateful acknowledgment of all the benefits so conferred.[3] Some Rabbinic explanations of the meaning of the Passover and the significance of the unleavened bread and bitter herbs bring the *Haggādāh* towards its concluding outburst of praise in the recitation of the first part of the Hallel [4] (Pss. 113, 114).

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[1] One of the most interesting features in these is the remark : " On all other nights we take our meal either sitting or reclining ; but on this night we all recline." This goes back to the Oriental banquet with couches on three sides of the table, across which the guests reclined, leaning on the left elbow (cf. St. John, 13^{23-25}).

[2] One main aim in the Passover *Haggādāh* is to impress, by an object lesson, on the minds of the children, Israel's consciousness of its wonderful history and destiny.

[3] This is embodied in a composition with a refrain in which all join, " It would have sufficed ! " (*dayyēnû*). It begins : " If He had brought us out from Egypt, and not executed judgments upon the Egyptians—it would have sufficed ! If He had executed judgments upon the Egyptians and not upon their gods—it would have sufficed ! " etc. (see Green, p. 45 f.).

[4] The Hallel was sung in the Temple during the slaughter of the paschal lambs by the priests. Possibly the division of the Hallel (part before, and the rest after, the family meal) is due to the idea that the family meal now takes the place of the old Passover family sacrifice (see Green, p. 50 note).

Then follows the drinking of the second cup, the "cup of the *Haggādāh*."

(6) All the guests wash their hands at this point as the preliminary to the meal.

(7) The celebrant now breaks the first and second unleavened cakes, and distributes pieces to all present. These are eaten after the recitation of the blessing.

(8) A piece of horse-radish (the "bitter herbs") dipped in the "charoseth" is distributed to each person, and eaten after the appropriate blessing.

(9) "Wraps." A curious ceremony, known as "Hillel's ceremony," follows. The celebrant breaks up the third unleavened cake, cuts slices of the horse-radish, places them between two pieces of the unleavened cake (forming a sandwich), and distributes to each person saying: "In memory of the Temple like Hillel. Thus did Hillel when the Temple stood. He used to wrap together pieces of Passover lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, and eat them together; in order to fulfil what is written: 'upon unleavened cakes and bitter herbs ye shall eat it'" (Ex. 12^{8}).

(10) The evening meal is then served. This usually means a long array of courses of dishes which are specially favoured by Jews, and are quite strange to the average "goy" (Gentile), such as soup and fish prepared in curious ways, etc.

(11) At the conclusion of this the *afikoman* is distributed in pieces to the guests, and eaten as explained above.

(12) Grace is then said (see Green, pp. 59 ff.), and the third cup of wine—the "Cup of Blessing"—is drunk.

(13) The door is then opened, and certain imprecatory verses from the Psalms and Lamentations are recited (Ps. $79^{6,7}$; 69^{25}; Lam. 3^{66}), beginning: "Pour out Thy wrath upon the nations who know Thee not," etc.

In reality, this seems to be a relic of the old banqueting

customs of the Oriental Jews. At the conclusion of the feast, after Grace, the doors were opened to allow of the departure of guests who were on a journey. The imprecatory verses form really no part of the original *Haggādāh* service ; they were added in the Middle Ages, when the Passover-festival became associated with such terrible danger and persecution from Christians.

After this, the fourth cup of wine is filled, the rest of the " Hallel " recited (including the " Great Hallel "), and the Benediction of Song (beginning " The breath of every living being," etc., Green, p. 79).

At the conclusion of this in the Liturgy of the Portuguese Jews, and formerly in that of the Germans, the fourth cup was blessed and drunk. Now, however, the Germans insert some poetical pieces before the drinking of the fourth cup, viz., " And it came to pass at midnight " (Green, pp. 83–87), on the first night ; and on the second, one beginning " Ye shall say it is the sacrifice of the Passover," each line ending with the word *Pesach* (Passover) (Green, pp. 87–91), and a curious alphabetic song, with the refrain *kî lô nā'eh* (" For to Him [praise] is due "). The fourth cup is then drunk.

(14) A prayer for the divine acceptance of the service follows (*nirtsāh*—accepted), (see Green, p. 95). To this the German Jews add three popular songs or hymns ; the first beginning " O mighty God ! rebuild Thy house speedily " (Green, p. 97) ; the next " Who knoweth just One ? I know One—One is the God of the world. Who knoweth just two," etc. (Green, p. 99 f.) ; and the last and most popular of all " *Chad Gadya*,[1] One only kid, one only kid " (Green, p. 105 f.). All are sung to traditional music.[2]

The last mentioned is a variation on the popular folk-song " The House that Jack built." Its last clause

[1] " *Chad Gadya* " is the title of an exquisite sketch in Mr. I. Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (pp. 453 ff.).

[2] This is given in Green p,p. 108 ff.

runs: "Then came the Holy One—Blessed be He—and slaughtered the Angel of Death, who slaughtered the butcher, who slaughtered the ox, who drank up the water, which quenched the fire, that burnt the stick, which beat the dog, that bit the cat, that ate the kid which my father bought for two zuzim. One only kid, one only kid!"

The following explanation is given of this curious adaptation. "Our Father in Heaven bought the kid Israel with the blood of circumcision and the blood of the Passover. The kid was swallowed by the cat Egypt. Egypt was conquered by Babylon (the dog); both (Egypt and Babylon) by the Medes and Persians (the stick); these by the fiery Alexander; Alexander's empire by Rome, which, like water, overspread the whole world; Rome, as mistress of Palestine, was supplanted by the ox, the Saracens."[1] Possibly the butcher may stand for the Crusaders, and the Angel of Death for the hoped-for deliverance from their cruelties. If so, the piece may have been composed during the existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

iii. *The Passover Synagogue-Services.*

There are, of course, festal services[2] in the Synagogue at Passover, with a full complement of offices (evening, morning, additional, and afternoon prayer). The morning service is distinguished by the reading of special lessons from the Law and the Prophets; and the Hallel is sung. A series of special lessons is read consecutively in the services during the eight days. On the first Sabbath after the first two days of Passover it is customary to read Canticles in the service. This custom—which arose after the Talmudic period apparently—was suggested by the verse (2^{15}): "Behold the winter is gone." The allegorical interpretation of the Book, however, has had

[1] Dembitz *op. cit.* p. 365.

[2] The full services can be seen in the larger (Festival) Prayer-Books (*Machzorim*).

some influence in this connexion, the idea suggested being the betrothal of Israel to God. The coming of the Passover season is heralded by the Sabbath which immediately precedes or falls on the first of Nisan (called *Shabbath ha-chodesh*). The special lesson from the Pentateuch read on this occasion is Ex. 12^{1-20} which deals with the commandment about celebrating Passover; the prophetic lesson is Ezek. 45^{16}-46^{18} (description of the sacrifices of Nisan I, Passover, and other feasts in the future Temple). The Sabbath immediately preceding Passover is called "the great Sabbath"—for what reason it is unknown.

II. Pentecost (Weeks).

i. *The Counting of the Omer.*

The interval between Passover and Pentecost is termed "the days of the counting" (Heb. *yĕmê ha-sefîrah*), owing to a curious custom which is inaugurated on the eve of the second day of Passover, immediately after the evening service. It is based upon the following injunction contained in Lev. $23^{15,16}$:

> And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath,[1] from the day that ye brought the omer (*E.V.* "sheaf") of the wave-offering, seven Sabbaths shall ye complete; even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days.

The word "omer" usually has the meaning "sheaf" in Hebrew. But it is also the name of a measure (cf. Ex. 16^{36}), containing about half a gallon, and is so interpreted here by the Rabbis, who regard the "wave-offering" of the passage as having consisted not of a sheaf, but of an omer of grain (barley).

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[1] i.e., according to the Rabbinical view, from the second day of Passover, the first day being regarded as "the Sabbath." According to another ancient view, "the Sabbath" here = the Saturday after the Passover Feast.

The " counting " now takes place during this interval in the Synagogue. It is preceded by a blessing, thus :

> Blessed art Thou . . . Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and hast commanded us to count the days of the Omer.

The formula used is : " This is the —— day since the Omer." After a week has elapsed the number of weeks as well as of days is specified. In this way forty-nine days are " counted," the fiftieth being Pentecost. During the greater part of this period marriage and festivities are prohibited, perhaps because the month Iyar, which roughly corresponds to May, may have been popularly regarded, as like the latter, an unlucky season for marriages. What looks like a later explanation is that the period is full of sad memories of Jewish massacres (in the time of Hadrian and the Crusades). The 33rd day of the Omer (=Iyar 18) is, however, not one of the prohibited days. According to tradition, a plague that had raged among R. Akiba's disciples was stayed on this day ; hence it is called " the scholar's festival." On the three days immediately preceding Pentecost [1] also marriage celebrations are permitted.

ii. *The Feast of Weeks* (*Pentecost*).

The " Feast of Weeks " (Heb. *Shabuoth*) is celebrated on the 50th day of the Omer (hence its name " Pentecost," a Greek word " fiftieth,"), and now on the following day also, i.e., Sivan 6 and 7. In the Bible—where, of course, a festival of one day only is referred to—it is described as " the feast of Harvest " (Ex. 23^{16}), and " the day of the First-Fruits " (Num. 28^{26}). It really marked the close of the grain-harvest, which in Palestine lasted seven weeks (from Passover to Pentecost). In the modern Synagogue the harvest-character of the festival is suggested by decorations of trees, plants and flowers.

[1] Called " the three days of the bounds," in allusion to Ex. $19^{11,12}$ (the three days' preparation before Mt. Sinai. The law-giving is supposed to have taken place at Pentecost).

The " Feast of Weeks " is also regarded as the Feast of Revelation—" the season of the giving of our Law "—because according to tradition the Law-giving on Sinai took place on the 6th day of the third month (i.e. Sivan). This tradition, however, cannot be really ancient, as it is not alluded to either by Philo or Josephus.

The special lessons are: 1st day, Ex. 19–20 (account of the Law-giving on Sinai) and Ezek. 1 (revelation of God's glory); 2nd day, Deut. 15^{19}–16^{17} and Hab. 3. The Book of Ruth is also read, no doubt originally because it contains a beautiful harvest-idyll. Jewish homes are also often decorated in the same way as the Synagogues at this season. By the Reform Congregations (especially in the United States) Pentecost, as being the traditional birthday of Judaism, has been selected for administering " confirmation " to Jewish girls in the Synagogue.

III. Tabernacles (Sukkoth).

The Feast of Tabernacles commences on the 15th of Tisri (five days after the Day of Atonement), and lasts seven days. Of these the first two (Tisri 15 and 16) are full festival days, the last five (Tisri 17–21) half-holidays. The " eighth day " Festival (*Shemini 'Atsereth*), which like other festival days is doubled (Tisri 22 and 23—the second day in this case is called *Simchath Torah*), closes the celebration. The whole nine days bear one descriptive designation, " season of our rejoicing." The festival is one of venerable antiquity. Its observance is commanded in the Mosaic Law (Lev. 23^{34}), and its purpose is there explained as to commemorate the way in which the Israelites dwelt in booths (*sukkoth*) during their journey through the wilderness.

Every Jew who owns a court or garden is required to erect a booth, or something more or less equivalent, and to dwell in it—or at least have meals in it—while

In the Booth (Feast of Tabernacles)

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the feast lasts. In order that the character of the original booth may as far as possible be retained, the modern counterpart is very lightly constructed. It "must not be covered with fixed boards and beams or with canvas, but with detached branches of trees, plants, flowers, and leaves, in such a manner that the covering is not quite impenetrable to wind and rain; or starlight" (Friedländer). The booths are required to be made during the days that intervene between the Day of Atonement and the Feast itself; they are adorned with garlands, flowers, and the like; often the text "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days" (Lev. 23^{42}), is displayed in a prominent place within the booth. On the eve of the Feast the members of the household attend Synagogue, and on returning assemble in their booth and partake of a meal. On this evening (the first of the Feast) the meal (as in the case of the weekly Sabbath on Friday evening [1]) is preceded by *Kiddûsh* or the solemn sanctification, first over a cup of wine which is then handed round, all drinking of it, and then over two wheaten loaves, specially baked and placed on the table covered with a cloth; these the head of the family then proceeds to cut into pieces, which are distributed to and eaten by all present.[2] A special blessing—which is repeated before every meal during the seven days—follows ("Blessed art Thou, O Lord. . . . Who hast commanded us to dwell in a booth"). At the conclusion of the meal, and on leaving the booth, the following prayer is said by the head of the household.

> May it please Thee, O Lord my God, and God of my fathers, that in like manner as I have this time obeyed Thy command, and have been sitting in the booth, so in the

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[1] Cf. pp. 346 ff.

[2] *Kiddûsh* is repeated at the meal on the eve of *Shemini Atsereth* (Tisri 22).

coming year I may be counted worthy to sit in the booth of Leviathan.[1]

The next morning the whole family repairs to the Synagogue. In the Synagogue the ancient and original character of the celebration as a Harvest Festival—the "Feast of Ingathering," or thanksgiving for the gathered produce of the fields and gardens—is prominent in various ways. The Synagogue itself is decorated with plants and fruits; and there are the palm-branch processions. These take place after the "additional" (*musaf*) service, which follows morning prayer (on Sabbaths and holy days). Every day of the seven is provided with this service and the processions, which culminate on the seventh day (*Hosha'na Rabba*).

The palm-branch (*lulab*) is prepared in accordance with Lev. 23 [40]: "And ye shall take unto you on the first day the fruit of the goodly tree, branches of palm-trees, and boughs of thick-leaved trees, and willows of the brook, and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." The *lulab* accordingly is invested at its lower end with myrtle branches and branches of the willow. These are attached to the *lulab* by means of palm-leaves.

The worshipper takes the palm-branch (*lulab*) in the right hand, and the *ethrog* or citron (fixed in a metal receptacle) in the left, reciting as he does so the following blessings (the second blessing is only said on the first day of the Festival):

(1) Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments, and commanded us to take up the palm-branch.

(2) Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast preserved us alive, sustained us, and brought us to enjoy this season.

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[1] The Leviathan plays a prominent part in haggadic legend, especially in connexion with the messianic time. The monster is to be killed and the flesh is to furnish food for the righteous (at the messianic banquet). From the hide tents will be made by God for the pious of the first rank. This last feature will explain the allusion in the text of the prayer above.

These are lifted up during the recitation of the *Hallel* (Pss. 113–118) in morning prayer. At the end of the *Musaf* or "Additional" prayer the scroll of the Law is taken from the Ark to the reading-desk, a procession is formed, and the worshippers, with the citron and palm-branch, make a circuit while certain prayers called "Hosannas" (*Hosha'anoth*) are recited. These are introduced as follows:

> For Thy sake, O our God, save now (Hosanna)!
> For Thy sake, O our Creator, save now!
> For Thy sake, O our Redeemer, save now!
> For Thy sake, O Thou who seekest for us, save now!

The processions, however, do not take place on the Sabbath that intervenes in the festival: nor are the palm-branch and citron handled on that day, the carrying of these being regarded as a form of work.

The joyous character of the festival finds its fullest expression on the seventh day, the popular name of which is *Hosha'na Rabba* ("The great Hosanna"). It is so called because the exclamation "Hosanna," and the "Hosanna-processions" are much more frequent than on the preceding six days.[1] On this day, after the Additional Prayer (*Musaf*), not merely one scroll (as on the previous days) but all are taken from the Ark, and seven processions take place round the whole Synagogue, a separate "hosanna" hymn being sung each time, and the scrolls being borne by different worshippers in each of the processions.[2]

At the completion of the processions, the worshippers being now in their places, the *lulab* is laid aside and the

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[1] The joyous character of this ancient popular holiday has always been so marked that the framers of the Jewish Calendar-year found it necessary to devise a rule for preventing its falling on the Sabbath. Cf. above, p. 323.

[2] Or else they are taken to the Reader's desk and there held in an upright position (the procession encircling the *Torah* as it formerly did the altar). See I. Abrahams, *Festival Studies*, p.15, and cf. the illustration on the opposite page.

willow-bunch [1] taken up, and a few more poetical pieces are said. All join in the messianic hymn beginning "A voice brings glad tidings, brings glad tidings and says." Then with the utterance of a petition for forgiveness of sins each shakes or strikes the willow-bunch on the desk before him till its leaves fall off, and throws it away.

It should be added that in accordance with an ancient pious custom many Jews have a watch on the eve of this Festival. The watchers meet socially and read Deuteronomy, the entire Psalter and passages from the *Zohar* (with Kabbalistic prayers). In the intervals of these exercises they eat cakes, fruits, and other refreshments.

The recitation of the *Hallel*, the waving of the *lulab* during this, the "Hosanna" processions with *lulab* and *ethrog* and the *Hosha'na Rabba* ceremonies (including the willow bunch) are all survivals of the great ceremonies connected with the "water-drawing" which distinguished the Feast of Tabernacles in the time of the Temple. The ritual is described in the *Mishnah* (*Sukkah* iv and v). "A golden pitcher holding three logs was filled by a priest with water from Siloam and brought through the water-gate, the multitude reciting Is. 12^3. Amid trumpet blasts the water was poured simultaneously with a libation of wine into a tube in the altar, through which it flowed mingling with the libation of wine by an underground passage to the Kidron." [2] The season was one of great festivity, notably on the evening at the end of the first day when in the brilliantly illuminated [3] Court of the Women there was a torch dance, to the accompaniment of singing and music, lasting till early morning, in which the leading Israelites took part. The libation of water was probably founded upon very ancient practice, being regarded as symbolical of rain, with which Tabernacles was associated. Of this ceremony and its accompaniments the *Mishnah* (*Sukk.* v, i) says: "he who has not seen the joy of the water-drawing

[1] The willow-bunch (which is distinct from the *lulab*) is prepared the night before and taken to the Synagogue for the morning-service. It is made up of five small willow-twigs tied together, and is popularly known as "Hosha'na," being peculiar to this day (*Hosha'na Rabba*).

[2] *JE*, xi, 661.

[3] The great golden candelabra in the court of the women were lit on this night. There may be an allusion to this in St. John 8^{12}.

The Procession of the Palms

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has never seen joy in his life." During the feast the libation of water was made each day at the time of the morning sacrifice, and it is to this custom that our Lord implicitly refers in St. John 7^{37} ("If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink"). On each day of the first six there was a procession round the altar; on the seventh day, seven. The willow-branches were also a great feature. In the Temple they were placed round the altar, the *Shofar* was blown, and the priests encircled the altar, *lulab* in hand and singing a verse from the Hallel: "I pray, O Lord, save now (*hoshîanna*)! I pray, O Lord, give success now!" In the Portuguese Synagogues similarly it is customary to sound the *shofar* during the processions on *Hosha'na Rabba*. This also may be a reminiscence of the Temple usage.[1]

In some Synagogues it is customary to erect a booth similar to the one erected at home.

The seven days of Tabernacles are immediately followed by the "eighth-day Festival" (*Shemini Atsereth*) (Tisri 22) and its double, which has received the special name of *Simchath Torah* "Rejoicing of the Law" (Tisri 23). No special ceremonial in the Synagogue-services marks the former of these days. The *Hallel* is recited in its full form and the Book of Ecclesiastes is read from a scroll. The memorial for the dead (*hazkarath neshamoth*) is also made in the morning service.[2] On the eve of the day, after the Synagogue-service, the sanctification (*Kiddûsh*) is said at home, often in the booth, which is continued in use this day and the next. The following evening the Feast of the "Rejoicing of the Law" begins. This is usually the occasion for much boisterous mirth.

The festival is post-Biblical in origin, and in fact did not become a fixed institution till the one-year cycle of lections from the Pentateuch had become firmly established.

The distinctive feature of the day is the processions

[1] It has now, however, acquired other associations, and is regarded as intended to give "those who have not become thoroughly reconciled with God on the Atonement-Day a last opportunity of repentance before the final judgment of God is sealed" (Rosenau, *Jew. Cer.*, p. 99 f.).

[2] Cf. above, pp. 339 ff.

with the scrolls of the Law in the morning service. All the scrolls are taken out of the Ark, a lighted candle being left in their place. A procession, headed by the Reader, who is followed by the men bearing the scrolls, is formed, and all sing :

> We beseech Thee, O Lord, save now !
> We beseech Thee, O Lord, give success now !
> We beseech Thee, O Lord, answer us when we call !

When one circuit has been completed other men are invited to carry a scroll during the next round, and so on. After the procession has been finished all but three scrolls are returned to the Ark and the regular reading of the lessons begins.

> " A Cohen is first called ' with all the priests ' ; they all come to the platform and say the benedictions together ; then a Levite is called ' with all the Levites.' Then others are called, have short passages read to them in chap. 33 of Deuteronomy ; these same passages being read over and over again until none are left uncalled but the three needed to finish Deuteronomy, to read in Genesis, and to act as *maftir* [i.e., to read the prophetic lesson] " (Dembitz). The names given to the one who reads the last section of Deut. (" Bridegroom of the Law ") and to him who begins to read Genesis (" Bridegroom of Genesis ") have already been explained (see p. 353).

These ceremonies are in many of the German Synagogues anticipated the previous evening. Towards the end of the evening service, contrary to all rules, the scrolls are taken out of the ark, and carried about in procession, men and boys joining in (the latter with paper flags representing the twelve tribes and burning tapers), and singing the hymns proper to the following morning service. While this is proceeding the women throw nuts and raisins from the galleries. This is essentially the children's part of the Festival. In some places it has also been customary for the children to tear down the " booths " (*sukkoth*), and burn them on *Simchath Torah.*

IV. Dedication (Chanukkah).

The Feast of *Chanukkah*, or Dedication, like that of

Purim, is associated with a historical anniversary, and is not mentioned in the *Torah*. It commemorates the victories of the Maccabees over the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes, and more especially the re-dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus in 164 B.C. After the Temple had been purified, a new altar of burnt-offering built, and new holy vessels made, the fire was kindled on the altar, the lamps of the candlestick lit, and the re-dedication of the altar celebrated for eight days, (1 Maccab. 4^{36}). This celebration has points of contact with that of Tabernacles, which also lasted eight days and at which lights were a prominent feature. According to Josephus the popular name for *Chanukkah* was φῶτα = "Festival of Lights." Another of its names is "Feast of the Asmoneans." It is referred to in St. John 10^{22} as "the feast of the dedication" (τὰ ἐγκαίνια).

It begins on the 25th of Kislev and lasts eight days (till Tebeth 2), and is celebrated by the kindling of lights (wax tapers or lamps [1]) on every evening of the festival. On the eve of the first day one light only is kindled; on the second two, and so on up to eight on the eve of the eighth day.

This ceremony is more particularly distinctive of the home, but also takes place in the Synagogue, every congregation possessing a candelabrum of burnished brass or silver for this purpose. It is traditionally based on the miracle which is said to have occurred at the purification of the Temple. When the time came for re-lighting the "continual lamp" only a small cruse of the consecrated oil could be found, sufficient for one day's supply. It, however, miraculously lasted eight days till a fresh supply could be prepared. According to the Talmud it was a disputed point between the schools of Hillel and Shammai whether the lights should ascend in number from one to eight (Hillel) or begin with eight and decrease to one (Shammai).

The lighting of the *Chanukkah*-lamp is the feature of principal importance in the Festival. The original

[1] Properly a lamp should be used, but now wax tapers are commonly employed.

object of this was the festive illumination of the house outside. The lights were to be set up near the door opening into the street, or (if there were more than one such door) in front of each. Only when it was too dangerous (in times of persecution) were they to be removed within. Their original purpose was further emphasized by the injunction that they were not to be used for reading purposes (*Shabb.* 21^{b}–23^{a}).

The number of lamps or candles was determined by the number of male persons in the house. In old-fashioned Jewish homes it is still "quite usual. . . to furnish to each boy his own set of them, one for the first night, two for the next, and so on to the eighth. . . The lamps or candles are set near a window, where people in the street may see them, soon after dark before the streets are deserted, all to 'publish the miracle.'" [1]

When the *Chanukkah*-light is kindled the following Blessings are chanted by the person who kindles, and those who see it kindled:

(1) Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and commanded us to kindle the Chanukkah-lamp.

(2) Blessed art Thou, etc. . . . Who didst work miracles for our fathers, in those days at this season.

(3) [2] Blessed art thou, etc. . . . . Who hast let us live, and sustained us, and caused us to reach this season.

A hymn of praise is then sung extolling God's deliverances.[3] The *Chanukkah*-lamps (or candelabra) have been elaborately developed in many artistic ways. Many fine specimens of work in this form exist. Provision is made for eight lights, and also another, distinct from the rest, known as "shamash," the "attendant" light. This last served as the lighter for the others (it being unlawful to kindle one *Chanukkah*-light from another). It was also (in theory) the light that was "used" for the ordinary purposes of seeing or reading. The *Chanukkah*-lights were intended solely for festive illumination.[4]

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[1] Dembitz, *op. cit.*, p. 337. [2] (3) is only said the first night.
[3] Cf. Singer, p. 275 ("O Fortress Rock of my Salvation").
[4] Cf. Singer, p. 274 ("We kindle these lights," etc.).

In most modern Jewish houses, where *Chanukkah* is observed, the *Chanukkah*-lights are reserved for the interior of the house and the purely domestic character of the festival is prominent. It is especially a women's festival. As has already been pointed out, no "profane" use was to be made of the lights—no ordinary work was to be done by them. Consequently games (especially card-games) riddles, and other pastimes were indulged in on *Chanukkah*-evenings. Women and girls were even encouraged to "kindle" *Chanukkah* lights for themselves. Children, also, share prominently in the festivities, being regaled with stories and presents. The first and last days are devoted more particularly to these forms of festivity. The poor are also remembered at this time, even begging from door to door (which is not tolerated at other times) being allowed.

In the Synagogue *Chanukkah* is marked by one or two special features. As has already been mentioned the *Chanukkah*-lamp is kindled in the Synagogue, as well as the home, each evening. This is followed by the chanting of Ps. 30, which, as its title shows ("A Song at the Dedication of the House"), was specially appropriated to this celebration.[1] In the morning service for each of the eight days the *Hallel* is chanted at the conclusion of the *Amidah* (cf. Singer, p. 142 bottom). Not improbably the *Hallel*, i.e. Pss. 113–118, was compiled in its present form for this festival. In the Jewish Liturgy it is treated as a single composition, being preceded by a special blessing (cf. Singer, p. 219 f). There is also a special paragraph in the Thanksgiving-Benediction of the *Amidah*-prayer,[2] which refers to the Maccabean triumphs. During the eight days of the feast also special lessons are read; they are taken from Num.

[1] Cf. Singer, p. 274. It was sung by the Levites in the Temple at this Feast.

[2] See Singer, pp. 51–52 ("We thank Thee also for the miracles, etc.). It is known as "*al ha-nissim* ("for the miracles").

7^{-8^4} (account of the gifts given at the dedication of the altar of the tabernacle ; 8^{1-4} refers to the kindling of the lights of the holy candlestick). If a Sabbath occurs within the festival Zech. 2^{10-37} (the vision of the golden candlestick) is read as the prophetic lesson (*Haftarah*) ; if a second Sabbath should occur 1 Kings 7^{40-50} (the dedication of Solomon's Temple) is also read as the *Haftarah*.

V. "Purim."

The Feast of *Purim* (i.e. according to the Biblical explanation "lots") is celebrated on Adar 14, or in a leap-year, on the 14th day of "Second Adar" [1] in commemoration of the wonderful deliverance of the Persian Jews from the machinations of Haman, as recorded in the Book of Esther.[2] As is already apparent in the Book of Esther itself the Festival is pervaded by a secular rather than a religious spirit, and this character has always distinguished it. It is the carnival of modern Jewry.

Nevertheless the day has received religious recognition in the Synagogue-services, a development which must have come comparatively early, as the presence of the Book of Esther in the Canon of the Old Testament sufficiently attests. The reading of the "scroll" (*Megillah*) as the Book of Esther is termed *par excellence*, is, in fact, the oldest and most prominent feature in the Synagogue-services for the day. The entire text is cantillated at evening and again at morning prayer.

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[1] Adar is the 12th month ; "second Adar" the intercalated 13th month. When the latter occurs the 14th of first Adar is called "little Purim" (*Purim Ḳatan*) and is marked by certain observances.

[2] In Shushan, Persia, it is observed on Adar 15, in accordance with Esther 9^{18}, which day consequently is called "Shushan Purim." See further on the real significance of this, *JE*, xi, 16 (s.v. *Shushan Purim*).

The text is invariably chanted by the precentor from a parchment scroll (not from a printed book) which must have been carefully prepared and written by a Jewish scribe in accordance with certain rules. The chanting is also set to a special melody. The congregation follows the cantillation in printed texts.

The reading of the *Megillah* is preceded by the following blessings :

(1) Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the reading of the Megillah.

(2) Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, etc., ... Who wroughtest miracles for our fathers in days of old, at this season.

A third blessing, and also one after the reading, follow ; these can be seen in Singer, p. 276 f.

On the eve of the Feast [1] it is customary to have a money collection in the Synagogue. A plate or basket is placed in the Synagogue for the purpose. The proceeds are sometimes given to the precentor, sometimes distributed among the poor.

It is, however, on its social side that the festival has developed its most remarkable features. The Book of Esther enjoins that the celebration shall be one " of feasting and joy and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor." Accordingly it is a time specially marked by the exchange of presents (known as " shiloach manoth " = " sending of gifts "). " On the eve of the festival the table in many a home is set with sweets for visitors, more especially for masquers, who in every community go from home to home in large numbers on this holiday. On *Purim*, too, card-playing is freely indulged in." [2] Masquerading—boys and girls going from house to house in grotesque masques singing comic songs—is an importation from the Roman carnival. It still prevails among the Jews of Eastern Europe. Feasting, which takes the form of a Purim-banquet,

[1] Purim can never occur on a Sabbath.

[2] Rosenau, op. cit. p. 130.

is naturally a feature. Its jovial character is marked, the breach of all ordinary rules being permitted. In fact restraints of all kinds seem to be suspended on this day, the spirit of boisterousness even invading the Synagogue itself (it takes such forms as hissing, stamping, rattling the Purim-rattle at the mention of Haman's name). Outside the Synagogue the spirit of exuberant mirth has expended itself in such activities as burning Haman's effigy, etc.[1] The Purim play has also enjoyed great popularity and assumed many forms from Geonic down to modern days.

[1] For many interesting details on this side of the subject, see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in Middle Ages*, and *Festival Studies*.

CHAPTER XX.

The Solemn Days and Fasts.

The New Year and Day of Atonement—The Blowing of the *Shofar*—Meaning of the New Year Celebration—Significance of the Day of Atonement—The Fasts—Significance of Fasting—Private and Public Fasts.

I. The Solemn Days (New Year and the Day of Atonement).

The Jewish Year—the New Year of the Synagogue—opens with a penitential period consisting of ten days. These are known as "the ten days of penitence" (*"asārāh yemê teshbûhah*), and also as "solemn days" (*yāmîn nôra'îm*).[1] The latter term, however, is applied more particularly to the beginning and end of this ten-day period, i.e. to New Year (Tisri 1 and 2), and the Day of Atonement (Tisri 10). But the "solemn days" themselves are heralded by certain distinct observances and devotional exercises which serve to prepare the way for what may not altogether inaptly be regarded as the "Jewish Advent season." These are (*a*) The blowing of the *Shôfār* or ram's horn, and (*b*) The recitation of certain special prayers immediately before or after the daily service, which are called *Selîchôth*, i.e., "Litanies or Prayers of Forgiveness."

In the Ashkenazic Synagogues the *Shôfār* is blown, on week-days (not on Sabbaths) during the whole month of Ellul (i.e. the month immediately preceding Tisri) at the close of the morning service; and, in some Synagogues, in the evening service as well. But it is not blown in the Portuguese Synagogues before the ten penitential days.

In the Sefardic ritual the place of the *Shôfār*-blowing

[1] Lit.="awful days."

is taken by the *Selîchôth* prayers, which are recited during the whole month of *Ellul*, and are continued morning and evening until the Day of Atonement. Among the Germans the *Selîchôth* are only recited during the morning service, beginning but a few days (a week at most) before the New Year, and ending on the Day of Atonement. These prayers, together with certain verses and the shorter confession, are usually said very early in the morning, before the regular morning service. Hence these days are known as *Selîchôth-days*. Dembitz also mentions that "in many places in Germany there are still ascetics who carry on a similar service on every week-day of the year not marked as joyous or festive. This service is known as *Shômêr labbōker* (watchmen of the morning)." [1]

II. The New Year (Rosh Ha- Shānāh).

The New Year is kept on the first two days of Tisri, which is the seventh month according to Biblical reckoning. Its characteristic Jewish name is *Rosh ha-shānāh*, i.e. New Year.[2] This name only occurs once in the Old Testament, viz. Ezek. 40[1], but in that passage it is applied not to New Year's *Day*, but to the *beginning of the Year*, which in the context covers the first ten days of the year. The name *Rosh ha-shānāh* is, however, applied in the *Mishnah* to the first day (as in modern usage), and is there used in this connexion as a title of long standing.[3]

In the Bible the New Moon (i.e. the first day) of Tisri is specially distinguished from ordinary new moon days. It is bracketed with the Day of Atonement as "a holy convocation," on which "no servile work" was to be performed—in other words, as possessing a specially solemn sabbatic character. It is specially designated as *yôm terû'āh*," i.e. "Day of Shôfār-blowing," and

[1] *Jewish Services*, p. 173. [2] Lit. "head of the year."
[3] Cf. the *Mishnah* tract *Rosh ha-shānāh* et al.

zikrôn terû'ah," i.e., "memory of Shôfār blowing" (cf. Num. 29^1 and 23^{24}); and it is interesting to note that by the Synagogue the Psalmist's injunction (Ps. 81^3), *Blow ye the trumpet in the New Moon; on our solemn feast day,* is interpreted to refer to the new moon of the seventh month, i.e. the first of Tisri. But why should the beginning of the seventh month have been singled out for such special honour? Because it marked the beginning of the *civil year.* According to the *Mishnah*[1] it was in the month of Tisri that the year of Jubilee began, that slaves were liberated, and landed property returned to its original owners. It should be mentioned, however, that on ordinary new moon celebrations of the Bible the ram's horn was blown when the special sacrifices for the day were offered; in the New Year's Festival, however, the *Shôfār* was blown throughout the *whole* day. In the modern Synagogue the blowing of the *Shôfār* is still the characteristic feature of the day. As a rule, it is blown during the morning service before the *sefer torah* (scroll of the Law) is returned to the Ark, and also during the *Musaf* (or additional) service.

The name *Terû'ah,* which the Synagogue regards as the special Scriptural name of the Festival, denotes the sound of an alarm, and is regarded as an awakening or reminding. According to the Jewish commentator, *Saadya,* it reminds of the following ten things, with which it is directly or indirectly connected: (1) Creation; (2) The duty to return to God; (3) Revelation on Mount Sinai; (4) The exhortations of the Prophets; (5) Destruction of the Temple; (6) The binding of Isaac for sacrifice; (7) Imminent danger; (8) Day of Judgment; (9) Redemption of Israel; (10) Resurrection. Its main thought is to call man to *repentance;* but, at the same time, it also serves to carry to God's throne the cry that evokes His grace and mercy.

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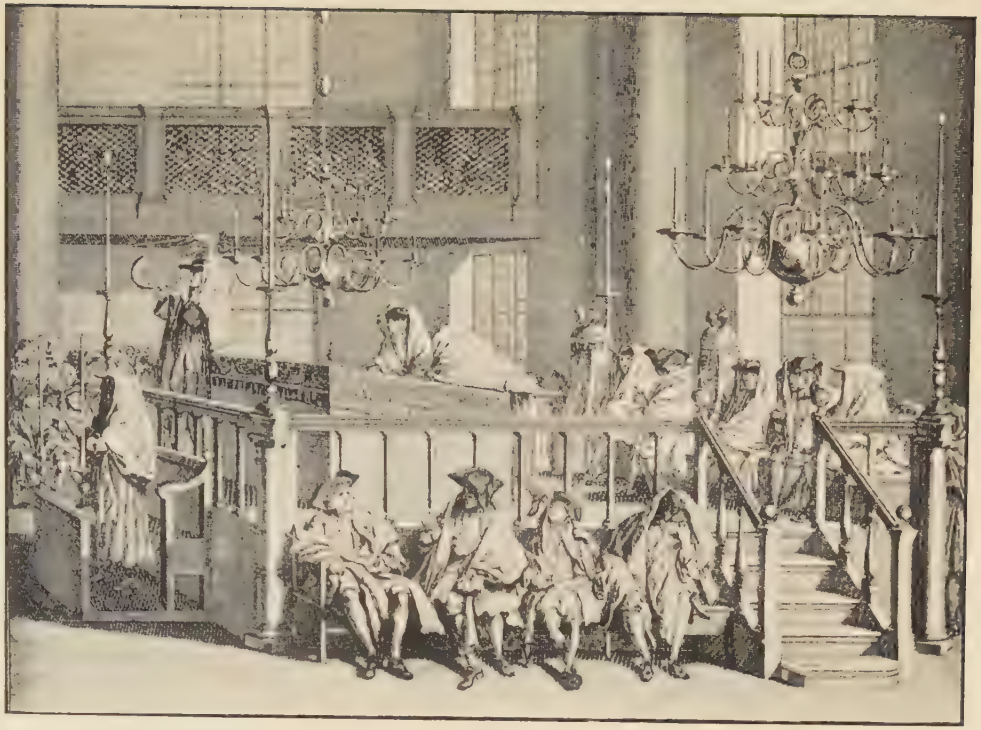
[1] Cf. *Rosh ha-shānāh* I, i.

These points are beautifully brought out in the following prayer said before *Terû'āh* :—

> *Thou hast (aforetime) heard my voice, O hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry* (Lam. 3^{66}). May it please Thee, O Lord my God, the God of judgment, that now it be an acceptable time before Thee, and that Thou in the multitude of Thy mercies and loving-kindness wilt vouchsafe to rend all the veils which make a separation this day between Thee and Thy people Israel ; and to send away all who slander and reproach us. Shut the mouth of Satan that he accuse us not, for on Thee our eyes are hanging. I will exalt Thee my God, the King, the God of judgment. Hear the voice of the prayers and *Terû'ôth* of Israel Thy people, this day in mercy. Amen.

The proper and special place for the horn-blowing is after the 4th, 5th and 6th Benedictions of the *Shemôneh 'Esreh* or *Tefillāh* for the *Additional* (or *Mûsāf*) service of the New Year. This service has a special form for the New Year. It will be remembered that the " Additional " is now run on to the ordinary morning service, following soon after the Prophetic Lesson of morning prayer for Sabbaths and festivals. But it was felt to be necessary to find a place in the service for a prayer of thanksgiving for the performance of this special duty—the givings of thanks for special ceremonies and pious acts (like the " laying of the *Tefillin*," e.g.) being a common feature in the Jewish prayers. Such a prayer, however, could not be introduced in the solemn *Tefillāh*, without interrupting it. Hence the blowing of the *Shôfār* has been introduced into an earlier part of the service, viz., soon after the reading of the Prophetic lesson. After a Psalm (such as the 47th) has been sung, or appropriate verses read, the man chosen to blow the *Shôfār* slowly chants the following Benediction :

> Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast commanded us to hear the sound of the *Shôfār*. Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast let us live, and kept us up, and hast made us reach this season.



The Blowing of the Shofar or Cornet

To face p. 384

The blower (called *Tôkē'āh*) then proceeds (under the direction of the *Chazzān*) to make his first series of thirty blasts or "pulses." These are interspersed with prayers. Each series of blasts is given in response to the command of the *Chazzān*. The last command given is called a "Great Sounding" (*Tekî'āh gedōlāh*), and in obedience to it the performer produces notes louder and more prolonged. He then says the following:

> Happy are the people that know the Terû'āh, Lord, in the light of Thy countenance they walk (Ps. 89^{16}).

The people repeat this after him, and then the ordinary service proceeds.

It ought, perhaps, to be explained at this point that the *Shôfār* as now used is really a horn and not a trumpet. It is a ram's horn without mouthpiece, "sharply bent at the broad side near the base . . . so as to double the column of air" (Dembitz). According to the Jewish Year Book, it only emits "very primitive and ear-piercing sounds"; in any case it is very difficult to perform on it at all successfully, and as the performer is often chosen for his piety principally—and piety and skill together are not always available—the result is sometimes somewhat peculiar.[1]

One of the best known names of the New Year celebration is that of *Feast of Trumpets*. In the Synagogue prayers, two other names also occur, viz., *Day of Memorial* (*Yôm zikkāron*) and *Day of Judgment* (*Yom Dîn*)—both emphasizing aspects of the season that will be explained presently. Before attention is called to the special prayers that mark the services of the day, the arrangement of its Services must be briefly indicated.

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[1] In the ancient Synagogue the *Shôfār* was also used to proclaim to the assembled congregation public sentence of excommunication. Excommunication was, strictly, a punishment of the Synagogue; hence the New Testament term for it is *put out of the Synagogue*. St. John 9^{22}; 12^{42}.

First of all it should be borne in mind that the New Year is now celebrated on *two* days, viz., Tisri 1st and 2nd. Both are regarded as solemn days of rest, and accordingly have besides the ordinary evening, morning and afternoon prayer, an Additional service of Prayer (*Mûsāf*) following on morning prayer ; also the first day is inaugurated by a special form of *Kiddûsh* (for New Year *Kiddûsh*, cf. Singer, p. 243). Supposing that the New Year does not fall on a Sabbath (Saturday), the ordinary service is said for evening (Singer, p. 95 ff.), morning (Singer, p. 1 ff.), and afternoon (Singer, p. 94 f.) the only difference being that a special form of *Amîdāh*-Prayer is substituted for the ordinary one. The Additional Service for New Year (which runs on after the morning) has also a special form of *Amîdāh*.[1]

In order to grasp the characteristic features of the celebration it is necessary to get some notion of the structure of these special forms.

On week-days, as has already been explained in Chapter xvii, the *Amîdāh* Prayer consists of nineteen separate benedictions ; but on Sabbaths and days of rest (such as the Festivals and solemn days), only the first three and last three of these are (in a modified form) recited, the middle thirteen being replaced by an entirely new benediction called the *Sanctity of the Day*. The form of this varies according to the particular festival ; further, if the Festival happens to coincide with a Sabbath, other modifications take place. This middle paragraph, with the proper modifications for the New Year's services (evening, morning and afternoon) can be read in Singer, p. 240 ff. It begins : " Thou hast chosen us from all peoples." To this the reader must be referred.

A remarkable feature, characteristic of the New Year's services, and in fact of all the daily services for the ten

[1] This is discussed below, pp. 397 ff.

"days of penitence" is that the recital of the *Amîdāh* Prayer which has just been described, is concluded (except on the Sabbath) by a striking prayer containing forty-four petitions, each beginning with the words "Our Father, our King" (*Abînû Malkēnû*). This so well brings out the penitential note which marks the New Year services, that it is worth while to consider it a little more closely. It will be found set forth in Singer, pp 55 ff. From it, and the other New Year prayers, some striking parallels to the opening clauses of the Lord's Prayer may be gathered.

Thus in illustration of the clauses:

Our Father which art in Heaven,
Hallowed be Thy name;
Thy Kingdom come:

note some of the following:

Our Father, our King, we have sinned before Thee,
Our Father, our King, we have none other King but Thee,
Our Father, our King, renew us a good year.
Our Father, our King, bring us back before Thee in perfect repentance.
Our Father, our King, vouchsafe to write us in the Book of Redemption.
Our Father, our King, hear us, though no good works of our own be in us.
We will sanctify also Thy name throughout the world O God, the God of our Fathers, reign Thou over the whole world in Thy glory.

In one respect the *Abînû* Prayer strikingly differs from the Lord's Prayer. The latter opens with words and thoughts concerning God's glory, and reserves for later petitions acknowledgment of human sin and frailty, and prayers for pardon. Our own Anglican services, however, especially Mattins and Evensong, agree with the *Abînû* in beginning with Scriptural calls to repentance and the general confession.

But the most characteristic prayers in the New Year services are the special Benedictions inserted in the middle of the *Amîdāh* Prayer of the *Additional Services*. These constitute three paragraphs known as *kingdoms* (*malkiyyôth*) *remembrances* (*zikrōnôth*) and *horn-blowings* (*Shōfarôth*), after each of which the *Shôfār* is blown.

Kingdoms is so called because it contains verses of Scriptural passages in which God is recognized as King. It can be read in Singer, p. 245 f., beginning: "But on account of our sins we were exiled from our land," etc.

Remembrances is similarly made up of verses in which God is shown to be mindful of mankind, and especially of Israel.

The last of these sections—that known as *Shôfārôth*—is made up of verses in which the *Shôfār* is named literally, or metaphorically, in passages where, as it were, God sounds, in thunder-notes, a call to Israel or mankind.

Of the three paragraphs just mentioned, the most striking is the middle one—*Remembrances*. It can be seen in Singer, pp. 249 f. beginning with the words "Thou rememberest." This piece it is which has given the celebration a peculiar character, that, viz., of the yearly "Day of Judgment" (*Yôm Ha-dîn*), which (as has already been pointed out) is one of its current names in the Synagogue. The belief that God has chosen this and the days connected with it as a time for passing special judgments upon His creatures is reflected here. It was this belief, no doubt, that influenced the Synagogue to give to the first ten days of the New Year their penitential character. According to Jewish tradition, the great books of judgment are opened on the first day of Tisri, and closed ten days afterwards on the Day of Atonement.

According to the Targum the scene in Heaven described in Job 1^6 f. took place on New Year's Day, Satan yearly playing the part of accuser before the Divine Judge. In the Talmud (*Rosh ha-shānāh* 16^b) it is said that the sounds of the *Shôfār* are intended to "confuse" Satan

when so employed.[1] In the same passage it is stated that three books are opened on this day, "one for the thoroughly wicked, another for the thoroughly pious, and the third for the large intermediate class. The fate of the thoroughly wicked and the thoroughly pious is determined on the spot; the destiny of the intermediate class is suspended until the Day of Atonement, when the fate of every man is sealed."[2]

A man's fate is determined according as merit or demerit predominates in the final reckoning—hence the importance of multiplying good deeds before the fatal Day (of Atonement). Those who emerge from the ordeal successfully are entered in the Book of Life (cf. Ex. 32^{32}, Is. 4^{3}, Ps. 69^{28}, Dan. 12^{1}, Phil. 4^{3}, Rev. 3^{6}, 13^{8}, 17^{8}, etc.). This explains the petition: "Inscribe us in the Book of Life,"[3] and also the salutation of New Year's Eve: "May you be inscribed (in the Book of Life) for a happy year." It is interesting to note that "the belief that on

[1] Cf. *JE*, ii, 286 b.

[2] Cf., *op. cit. ibid.*, where also the following liturgical piece, which vividly brings out this aspect of the season, is quoted: "God, seated on His throne to judge the world . . . openeth the Book of Records; it is read, every man's signature being found therein. The great trumpet is sounded; a still, small voice is heard; the angels shudder, saying, 'This is the day of judgment': for His very ministers are not pure before God. As a shepherd mustereth his flock, causing them to pass under his rod, so doth God cause every living soul to pass before Him, to fix the limit of every creature's life and to foreordain its destiny. On New Year's Day the decree is written: on the Day of Atonement it is sealed who shall live and who are to die, etc. But penitence, prayer and charity may avert the evil decree." It should be noted that the fate not only of individual creatures, but of countries—"which of them is destined to the sword and which to peace, which to famine and which to plenty"—is also determined at the same time. Cf., Singer, p. 250.

[3] It is significant that in the closing prayer of the Day of Atonement, the expression "inscribe us" is altered to "seal us," i.e., "seal our fate." In the *JE* (*loc. cit.*) the writer remarks: "In letters written between New Year and the Day of Atonement the writer usually concludes by wishing the recipient that God may seal his fate for happiness."

the first day of the year the destiny of all human beings was fixed, was also that of the Assyrians. Marduk is said to come at the beginning of the year ("rish shatti") and decide the fate of one's life."[1]

Of course the day is not only conceived of as one for remembering God's judgments, though this is its dominating thought. It also has as one of its chief purposes the remembrance before God by *Terû'ah*, or the blowing of the *Shôfār*, of His mercies in the past, and of His gracious promises to His people for the future. The various reminiscences connected with the Day, which are commemorated in the prayers or special hymns during the services, have been thus admirably summed up:

> *Rosh ha-shānah* is first a memorial of God's work of Creation, accomplished (as believed) at this season. It proclaims the world's Creator as our King. It is, again, a memorial of the departure of the twelve tribes from Egypt, that great deliverance which is nevermore forgotten or omitted among the "praises of Israel." It is, further, a memorial of the giving of the Law on Sinai when "the trumpet sounded long"; and a memorial also of the binding of Isaac (the patriarchal type of the future resurrection), imploring a renewal of that goodwill of the Heavenly Father, which acts of faithful submission and obedience evoked on Mount Moriah. It is finally a memorial of the divinely promised return of Israel to Jerusalem in the latter days, the rebuilding of the Holy City, the long expected coming of Messiah, and the glorious Resurrection of the sleeping dead.[2]

In connexion with this last point, an interesting piece of ceremonial outside the Synagogue, which the Jews in many places are in the habit of observing, may be mentioned. It is customary for them on the eve of the New Year (regarded as a kind of All Souls' Day) to visit the graves of the dead, and there offer prayers and salutations to and for them in their last earthly resting place. The late Canon Kingsbury has mentioned that "a similar

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[1] *Op. cit., ibid.* and ref.

[2] Kingsbury, *The New Year of the Synagogue, and its Lessons for the Church (Church and Synagogue)*, vol. i, pp. 7 f.

rite to this is observed in the so-called evangelical communities of various parts of Germany, on the last Sunday of the Christian year (the Sunday before Advent), when the congregations are often clad in mourning for friends who have departed during the last twelve-months, and special remembrance is made of them in the service." [1]

It has already been noted that the day is traditionally connected with the binding of Isaac. According to tradition it is the birthday of Isaac, and also of the prophet Samuel. Hence the Pentateuch lesson for the first day is Gen. 21; for the second Gen. 22, both being followed by the section in Numbers that enumerates the sacrifices of the Festival (Num. 29^{1-6}); while the prophetic lesson for the first day is 1 Sam. 1^{1}–2^{10} (the narrative of Samuel's birth, together with Hannah's song). For the second day the *Haftarah* is taken from Jer. 31^{2-20}, a prophecy dealing with the restoration of Israel.

The dedication of the first ten days of the New Year to repentance is haggadistically connected with the command (Exod 34^{26}): *The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God.* In accordance with this the first ten days of the year are regarded as an offering of first-fruits to the Lord.

III. The Day of Atonement (Yom Kippûr).

Once every year, on the last of the "ten days of penitence," with which the Jewish New Year opens (Tisri 10th), the Jews foregather in their thousands in order to carry out to their utmost extent the rigorous demands which their religion makes, for the proper observance of the Day. As is well known the multitudes that assemble in the various synagogues and temporary places of worship requisitioned for the occasion, include many who are not known, at any other time, to pass the doors of a place of

[1] Kingsbury, *The New Year of the Synagogue, and its Lessons for the Church (Church and Synagogue)*, vol. i, p. 8.

worship, the year through. "Many who do not keep any of the Jewish customs still attend Synagogue and fast on this day." Such are known as "Yôm Kippûr Jews," and this fact alone eloquently testifies to the supreme place occupied by "The Day" in the religious life of the modern Jew.

What is it that gives the Day of Atonement this unique place in the life of a whole people? How is the observance regarded, what are the conceptions and the meaning attached to it by the throng of worshippers? There must be some deep and all-compelling motive at work, some profound feeling or conviction in action to make the strict and solemn observance of the Great Fast under modern conditions practically universal. In order to answer these questions aright, it is necessary to review briefly the past history of the Day.

As everybody knows, it occupies a highly important place in the Levitical Law. It was, in fact, the supreme piaculous act of the Old Covenant. It will be remembered that elaborate details are given for its ceremonial observance in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, which need not be discussed now. It will suffice here to add that in order to understand these fully it is necessary to supplement the details given in Leviticus by others preserved in the *Mishnah*. For instance, we learn from the latter authority that it was customary for the High Priest to prepare for his solemn functions on the great Day by going into retreat for the seven days immediately preceding. For our purpose, however, it is more important to observe (1) that like *Rosh ha-shānāh* it possessed a Sabbatic character, abstention from all work being rigidly demanded; (2) that it was to be kept as a strict fast, "from even unto even" (cf. Lev. $23^{31\,32}$); and (3) it was to be observed by all Israelites ("whatsoever soul shall not afflict himself—i.e., fast—shall be cut off from among his people," etc. Lev. 22^{23-32}), and was to be of perpetual obligation ("it shall be a statute for ever

throughout your generations in all your dwellings" Lev. $23^{31,32}$). As its name implies, its supreme purpose was atonement, which was to be made by sacrifices for the High Priest, the priests, the Sanctuary, and the people.

The last aspect of the ceremonial—that which concerns the people as a whole—has most importance for us. "On that day," runs the enactment, "shall atonement be made for you to cleanse you; ye shall be clean from all your sins before Jehovah." And again: "It shall be an everlasting statute for you, that atonement shall be made for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year."

Some scholars have questioned whether all kinds of sin are included in the atoning efficacy of the ceremonial. It has been argued that "only unintentional sins were included in this annual forgiveness."[1] But, as Mr. Montefiore has pointed out, "By the letter of the law it was seemingly implied that the guilt of all sins, of what kind soever, be they ritual or moral, voluntary or involuntary, would be wiped out and atoned for by the ceremony of the Atonement Day."[2]

In its original institution the Day of Atonement was essentially bound up with the system and theory of Levitical sacrifice. It was instituted, as Mr. Montefiore has pointed out, "for the community, not for the individual, in order to cleanse Jahveh's (Jehovah's) nation and land from the residual taint of individual sins that may have been supposed to remain even after legal and ritual purification had already been provided for in each case. For only so could the nation and community preserve that ceremonial purity which would enable Jahveh to continue dwelling in their midst."

How essentially imperfect, deficient and unsatisfying

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[1] So Kuenen as quoted in Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 335.
[2] *Hibbert Lectures*, ibid.

such a ceremonial system of atonement really is must have often been apparent to the more spiritually minded among the Jews, even before the destruction of the Temple and the consequent cessation of all sacrifice. The higher view is powerfully stated, from the Christian standpoint, by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. And when the great catastrophe came, and the Temple with all its elaborate ritual of sacrifice was finally swept away, the logic of events would seem to have triumphantly vindicated the truth of the Christian contention, that the Levitical system was essentially transitional to something higher. With the disappearance of the sacrifices the conclusion appears inevitable that the Day of Atonement has become a thing of the past. If it survived how could it be regarded as anything but a meaningless anachronism? This conclusion the later Judaism refused to draw. With curious and almost pathetic tenacity it has retained the ancient observance, and, as we have seen, no religious celebration is more fondly cherished by modern Jews.

What, then, is the theory underlying the *modern* observance?

The Rabbis taught that "charity or repentance was an accepted substitute or equivalent for sacrifice." Only with this a certain atoning efficacy was given to the Day itself. The following quotation will illustrate the Rabbinical view:

> At this time, when there is no temple, and we have no altar, there is no atonement but repentance. Repentance atones for all transgressions, yea, though a man be wicked all his days, and repent at last, none of his wickedness is mentioned to him, for it is said, "As for the wickedness of the wicked, he shall not fall thereby, in the day that he turneth from his wickedness" (Ezek. 33^{12}). The Day of Atonement itself also atones for them that repent, for it is said, "For on that day he shall make an atonement for you" (Lev. 16^{30}).[1]

The Rabbis rightly insist, again and again, on the value

[1] Maimonides as cited above, pp. 331 f.

the indispensability of true, deep, heart-felt repentance. Only they fatally hampered their theory by assigning together with this a certain atoning efficacy to the Day itself. The consequence has been that a mass of superstition has, as Mr. Montefiore admits, "gradually surrounded" the celebration of the Day in the Synagogue.[1]

As has already been pointed out,[2] the first ten days of the New Year have come to be regarded by the Jews as a time when God passes special judgments upon His creatures, and goes through an annual process of judging and forgiving. According to the *Mishnah*, "Repentance atones for light offences then and there (i.e., God pardons them immediately), with regard to heavy offences repentance makes them hang in the balance until the Day comes and atones for them."[3] In other words, the atoning efficacy of the Day itself is required in order to secure the Divine forgiveness.

Mr. Montefiore explains that "no more is implied than that there is a *formal* suspension of forgiveness between the repentance and the Day. Practically, forgiveness is assured by repentance; formally, it is suspended until the actual Day arrives. Otherwise" (he pathetically exclaims) "what would there be left for the Day to do?" As a special Day has been reserved for Atonement, and as a special atoning efficacy has been made to inhere in the Day itself, it is not to be wondered at if multitudes of Jews assign a superstitious efficacy to formal and acknowledged repentance on this particular Day. Each individual may be "only too willing," to use Mr. Montefiore's words, "to apply to himself the words of the Scripture: *On that day shall he make an atonement for you, to cleanse you that ye may be clean from all your sins before Jehovah.*"

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 523.
[2] See p. 388 f.
[3] *Yoma*, viii, 8.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Rabbis are alive to some of the dangers connected with the observance The *Mishnah* is careful to teach that the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement are ineffectual unless accompanied by repentance. "Death and the Day of Atonement work atonement" (one passage runs), "where there is repentance." [1] "If a man says," we are told in the same context, "I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent," Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance; and if he says "I will sin, and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement," the Day of Atonement will bring him no atonement." [2]

Further, we are told in another passage that "the Day of Atonement absolves from sins against God, but not from sins against a fellow man until his companion be reconciled." [3] On this account it has become customary to terminate all feuds and disputes on the eve of the Day. "Even the souls of the dead are included in the community of those pardoned on the Day of Atonement. It is customary for children to have public mention made in the Synagogue of their departed parents, and to make charitable gifts on behalf of their souls. But no amount of charity will avail the soul of a wicked man." [4]

We are now in a position to consider very briefly the actual celebration of the Day as practised in the modern Synagogue.

There are altogether five services on the Day of Atonement, viz., (1) Evening Prayer (*Ma'arîb*), recited on the evening of the ninth of Tisri, after sunset, when according to Jewish reckoning the Day begins; (2) Morning Prayer (*Shacharîth*); (3) The Additional (*Mûsaf*); (4) Afternoon Prayer (*Minchāh*); and (5) Closing Prayer (*Ne'îlāh*).

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[1] Yoma, viii, 8. [2] Yoma, viii, 9.
[3] T. B. Yoma, 87a. (cf. *JE*, ii, 288a).
[4] *JE*, ii, 288a (with reff.).

The services numbered here (2) to (5) are held continuously, from morning to sunset, on Tisri the tenth.[1]

The structure of these services follows the outline of the corresponding services for ordinary occasions, *with certain modifications and additions.* The most important of the modifications concern the *Amîdāh*-Prayer, and can be partially seen in Singer, pp. 255 f., esp. pp. 256 f., while the additions consist mainly of penitential prayers (*Selîchôth*), and forms of confession (*Widdûy*).[2] The part of the services in which the characteristic notes of the Day receive their fullest and most intense expression is undoubtedly the central Benediction of the *Mûsaf* (Additional) *Amîdāh*-Prayer. This paragraph alone occupies no less than seventy-two pages in the Festival Prayer-Book.[3] It begins with a beautiful prayer for the Synagogue Reader, which the following quotation will illustrate :—

> *Reader :* O God, and the God of our fathers, be Thou with the mouths of those whom Thy people Israel have deputed to stand in Thy presence to pray and supplicate for Thy people, the House of Israel. Teach them what they shall say, instruct them what they shall speak, answer their request, and cause them to know how to glorify Thee. May they walk in the light of Thy countenance ; may they bend the knee unto Thee, and may the utterance of their mouths bring blessings on Thy people, and may all be blessed with the blessing of Thy mouth. They conduct Thy people into Thy presence, and they approach into the midst of them ; the eyes of Thy people are fixed on them, and their eyes do anxiously long for Thee. . . .
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> *Congregation :* May they not falter with their tongue nor be entangled in their speech, so that their congregation who

[1] Even in the Reform Synagogues the services are, practically without exception, continuous throughout the day.

[2] The complete prayers for the various services of the day are very voluminous, and include a number of poetical pieces. They can be read *in extenso* in the Festival Prayer-Books. In De Sola's Edition of the *Festival Prayers* the services for the Day of Atonement occupy two whole volumes, as also in the new ed. of the *Festival Prayers* published by Routledge.

[3] Cf. De Sola, vol. v, pp. 46–117 (=Routledge's new ed. pp. 155-191).

> confide in them should through them be ashamed : suffer not their mouth to utter a word that is contrary to Thy will : for those who are favoured of Thee, O Lord our God, are indeed favoured, and those on whom Thou hast mercy are treated with the tenderest affection. . . .[1]

This is followed by a summary account of Biblical history from Adam to Aaron. The whole Temple Service of the Day of Atonement is then minutely described, the most interesting feature of which, perhaps, is the three forms of confession used by the High Priest—for himself and his household, for himself and the priesthood, and lastly for the whole people—which were actually employed in the Temple-services.

The first of these—uttered by the High Priest on laying his hands upon the head of a young bullock which was offered as his sin-offering—ran as follows :—

> O Lord, I have sinned, I have trespassed, I have done wrong before Thee, I and my house, O Lord : grant atonement for the sins, trespasses and wrongs which I have committed before Thee, I and my house, as it is written in the law (Torah) of Thy servant Moses : " For on this day he shall atone for you to cleanse you from all your sins before the Lord " (Lev. 16^{30}).

In each of the three confessions the High Priest pronounced the ineffable name at which the congregation " kneeled and prostrated themselves, falling on their faces and saying, ' Blessed be the name of His glorious majesty for ever and ever.' " [2] After an elaborate description of the other sacrificial details, a composition described as the prayer of the High Priest is then recited. This is supposed to have been uttered by him on the successful completion of the sacrifices and begins thus :—

> May it be acceptable in Thy presence, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, that this year we have just entered may be to us and to all Thy people Israel a year in which Thou mayest open the treasuries of Thy blessing ; a year of plenty and blessing ; a year of good decrees in our favour proceeding from Thee, etc., etc.

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[1] De Sola, v, pp. 49 f. (=new ed. pp. 158).
[2] De Sola, *op. cit.*, p. 54 (=new ed. p. 161).

This is followed by a rapturous description of the beautiful appearance of the High Priest, based upon Ecclesiasticus 46 foll. The lines are chanted by the Reader and closed in each case by a refrain said by the congregation.

Reader: As Heaven's expanded canopy
(ref.) was the High Priest's appearance!
and so on.

Now the plaintive note is heard:

Happy the eye that beheld all these—
for, verily, to hear only of them afflicts our soul!
Happy the eye that saw our Temple, and the joyful assembly of our congregation—
for, verily, to hear only of them afflicts our soul!
But the iniquities of our fathers have caused the desolation of the Temple,
And our sins have prolonged the period of our captivity!
O may the rehearsal of these things procure forgiveness for us,
And the affliction of our soul be the means of our pardon!
Thou hast, therefore, in Thine abundant mercy given us this Day of Atonement,
And this day of pardoning iniquity—for the forgiveness of iniquity,
and the expiation of transgression! [1]

Temple, altar, and priest have been reft away, troubles have multiplied, and the contemplation of present misery only serves to intensify the sense of loss, and to quicken the desire for the re-establishment of the ancient glories and ritual. With an ardent expression of hope and supplication for their restoration this section of the *Amîdāh* ends. The technical name for this part of

[1] In the reform ritual (i.e., the ritual of the Reform Synagogues) expression is given to the view of an "atonement for mankind by the sacrifice which Israel, as the martyr priest, is destined to bring." *JE.* i, 76b.

the prayer is *Abôdāh* = "*Service*," because it recites the manner in which the Atonement Service was conducted by the High Priest in the Temple at Jerusalem. As such it has been set to specially impressive cadences which aptly express—especially in the most solemn parts, as when the three confessions of the High Priest are recited —the religious emotions roused by the service.[1]

The most characteristic note of the services for the Day is struck in the various forms of Confession of sin (*Widduy*). The most frequently recurring of these is appended to the *Amîdāh*-Prayer for each service, and opens thus :

Our God and God of our fathers, let our prayer come before Thee ; hide not Thyself from our supplication, for we are not arrogant and stiff-necked, that we should say before Thee, O Lord our God, and God of our fathers, we are righteous and have not sinned. Yea, verily, we have sinned !

We have trespassed, we have been faithless, we have robbed, we have spoken basely, we have committed iniquity, we have wrought unrighteousness, we have been presumptuous, we have done violence, we have forged lies, we have counselled evil, we have spoken falsely, we have scoffed, we have revolted, we have blasphemed we have been rebellious, we have acted perversely, we have transgressed, we have persecuted, we have been stiff-necked, we have done wickedly, we have corrupted ourselves, we have committed abomination, we have gone astray, and we have led astray.

May it then be Thy Will, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, to forgive us for all our sins, to pardon us for all our iniquities, and to grant us remission for all our transgressions.

For the sin which we have committed before Thee under compulsion, or of our own free will :

And for the sin which we have committed before Thee in hardening of the heart :

[1] For an account of this music see the Art. ABODA, *Music of*, in the *JE* i, p. 76 f.

And for the sin, etc.[1]

For all these, O God of forgiveness, forgive us, pardon us, grant us remission.

The opening service of the Day of Atonement, i.e., the service held in the evening of Tisri the ninth, is known as *Kol Nidrê* (=*All Vows*). This name is derived from a formula of remission of vows which is recited immediately before the service. This, however, is preceded by another declaration, of which mention must be made.

Just before nightfall "the two most learned and reputable men of the congregation stand up with the leader (reader) and all three say thrice:

"*By the opinion of God and the opinion of the Assembly, as given in the session on high, and in the session below, we give leave to pray with the transgressors.*"[2]

The original meaning of this declaration must have been that the three, forming a *Beth Din* or Court with power to absolve from the ban, gave leave to the excommunicated to join in the prayers of the congregation. It is now, however, an empty form.

Then follows the *Kol Nidrê*, which runs thus:

All vows and prohibitions, and bans, and devotions in sacrifice, and vowings by nickname,[3] *and penalties and oaths, which we have vowed, or which we have sworn, or which we have put under ban, or which we have forbidden to ourselves (from this Day of Atonement to the next Day of Atonement, may it come in peace); we have repented of all of them; let all of them be dissolved, abandoned, put at rest, be void, and be annulled, not valid, nor of force; our vows are no vows, our prohibitions are no prohibitions, our oaths are no oaths.*

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[1] Of these clauses—beginning with the words "And for the sin:"—there are altogether forty-four (two for each letter of the alphabet). For the whole confession, see Singer, pp. 258–263.

[2] Cf. Dembitz, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[3] i.e. vows made in mutilated words like *Konam* for *Corban* (sacrifice) because such are valid (Dembitz).

This is sung three times by the Cantor. Then he and the congregation say together thrice :

And all the congregation of the children of Israel shall be forgiven, and the stranger that sojourneth among them ; for as to all the people it was done unwittingly (Num. 15 [25]).

The terms of the declaration have reference to the classification in Num. 30, where the abrogation of particular vows, under certain conditions, is set forth. The Rabbis discouraged the practice of making vows, and established a rule that a man might make a declaration at the beginning of the year by which vows made that year would be void (unless in making the vow it was explicitly excepted from the operation of the declaration). This custom was formerly carried out privately, but has now been transferred to the Eve of the Day of Atonement, and altered into a general declaration embracing the community. The vows intended are those affecting the personal welfare or comfort of the individual vowing, and legal obligations, of course, do not fall within the scope of the declaration. [1]

After this declaration the first of the Atonement-services begins (*Ma'arîb*) and is terminated by the recitation of the prayer *Abînû Malkênu* (see Singer, pp. 55-57).

On the following afternoon the last of the services of the Day—and the one which is peculiar to it—the *Ne'ilah* (" conclusion ") is read, and this also includes towards the end *Abînû Malkênû*, which is followed by a most impressive ceremony—the solemn recitation of the

[1] " It was probably intended as a warning against hurtful vows which would probably be entered upon during the excitement of the most solemn day of the year, and would be against the third commandment, but the enemies of the Jews have interpreted it as releasing them from the consequences of a legal oath, to which, of course, it has no application, having reference only to vows laid upon oneself in regard to one's own character " (*Jewish Year Book*, 1896, p. 164).

prayers said by every good Jew with his last breath when on the point of death.

It consists of the first line of *Shema'*, said by the Reader and Congregation once :

Hear, O Israel : the Lord our God, the Lord is One, followed by

Blessed be His name, whose glorious Kingdom is for ever and ever (repeated three times),

And this by *The Lord He is God!* (repeated seven times).

Then the *Shôfār* is sounded and the great Day of Atonement is over (*Ne'îlāh*, being finished about sundown).

In connexion with the ceremony just described it is interesting to note that many Jews attend Synagogue on this day arrayed in the shroud (*sargonas*) in which they will be buried.

It should also be noted that the congregation wear the *Talith* or praying-shawl at the *Kol Nidrê* service. Ex- in this instance the *Talith* is never worn at the evening service save by the minister, or by a mourner who says *Kaddish.*

The Lessons for the Day are the following : (1) from the Pentateuch (Torah) : Lev. 16 (account of the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement), and Num. 29^{7-11} (the sacrifices of the Day). (2) From the Prophets (*Haftarah*) : Isa. 57^{14}–58^{14} (on the true fast). These are read at Morning Prayer (*Shacharîth*). At Afternoon Prayer (*Minchah*) Lev. 18 (on forbidden marriages), and the Book of Jonah (on the efficacy of repentance) and Micah 7^{18-20} are read.

IV. The Fasts.

Fasting[1] is referred to in the Bible sometimes as a sign

[1] Hebrew *tsûm :* the phrase " afflict the soul " (Hebrew *innāh nefesh*) = to fast : hence is derived the later Hebrew word *tā'ănîth* lit. affliction (i.e., *fasting*).

of mourning, sometimes as an act of humiliation in the face of impending danger. It may be of a purely private and voluntary character, or a fixed public institution.

Fast-days of the latter kind are comparatively rare in the Jewish sacred calendar. The only fast-day prescribed in the Law is the Day of Atonement. After the Return from Babylon four other regular fast-days were instituted in memory of various sad events connected with the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile. These are alluded to in Zech. 8^{19} as " the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth." Of these " the fast of the tenth " = Tebeth 10, and commemorates the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem; " the fast of the fourth month " = Tammuz 17, and commemorates the breach made in the walls; " the fast of the fifth " = Ab 9 (" The Black Fast "), commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples; and " the fast of the seventh " = Tisri 3, called " The Fast of Gedaliah "; it commemorates the assassination of the Jewish Viceroy of that name who had been left behind in Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Jer. 41). These fasts are observed in orthodox synagogues, which conform to Rabbinical law, by the reading of special lessons. Ex. 32^{11-14} and 34^{1-10} are read both in the morning and afternoon services; in the afternoon Is. 55^{6}–56^{8} is read as the *Haftarah* (prophetic lesson) on all fasts. As has already been mentioned, all these fasts begin at daybreak and last till evening.

The fast on the 9th of Ab calls for special remark. Like the Day of Atonement it is observed strictly for twenty-four hours (from evening until evening). The lessons for this day are in the morning Deut. 4^{25-40} and Jer. 8^{13}–9^{23}; in the afternoon Exod. 32^{11-14} and 34^{1-10} with Is. 55^{6}–56^{8} as *Haftarah* (as on other fasts). At the morning service *talith* and *tefillin* (phylacteries) are not worn,[1]

[1] They are, however, put on for the afternoon service.

as a sign of sorrow; and during the day the book of Lamentations and the Book of Job are read, and various elegies called *Kinoth* (" lamentations ") are recited.

The day is fraught with sad and painful memories for the Jewish race. The following events are traditionally associated with it: the decree that the Jews who went out of Egypt should not enter Palestine; the destruction of the Temple for the first and second time; the capture of Bethar (Bar Kokba's stronghold), and the plowing of Jerusalem with a plowshare (after the suppression of Bar Kokba's revolt).

The three weeks intervening between the 17th of Tammuz and the 9th of Ab are observed by many pious Jews as a sort of Lenten period (in some cases only the ten days immediately preceding 9th of Ab are so observed). They abstain from meat and pleasures of various sorts. The giving of charity on fast days was much encouraged.

Besides the above the " Fast of Esther " (commemorating Esther's fasting mentioned in Est. 9^{31}; cf. $4^{3, 16}$) is kept by some as an additional fast on Adar 13 (or in a leap year on the 13th of Adar Sheni).[1] The " Fast of the First-born," kept by the first-born on the eve of the Passover, must also be mentioned in this connexion. It commemorates the miraculous deliverance of the first-born of the Israelites in Egypt, when those of the Egyptians were slain. The custom of fasting on the day of one's marriage has already been mentioned; the anniversary of the death of a father or mother (" Jahrzeit ") is similarly observed. Some pious Jews fast every Monday and Thursday in memory of the destruction of the Temple, the burning of the *Torah*, and the desecration of God's name (cf. S. Luke 18^{12}, " I fast twice in the week ").[2] The Monday, Thursday, and Monday following the feasts of Passover and Tabernacles are recognized

[1] This used to be observed by certain Jews on three days, viz., on the first and second Mondays, and the Thursday following Purim.

[2] Cf. *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, VIII, i: " But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites (i.e. the Jews); for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but ye shall fast the fourth day and the preparation (i.e. Friday)."

fast-days in many Jewish communities. Their original intention was to atone for any sins committed during the holidays. To these may be added the day before the new moon, called "little yôm kippûr," which is specially observed by some congregations. Finally, special fast-days, observed with much solemn ceremonial, have from time to time been imposed by the synagogue on the community in face of any threatening danger or calamity. Such fasts were always held on Mondays, and Thursdays. Private fasting has always prevailed to some extent among the Jews, though discouraged by the Rabbis.

Of the fixed fast-days the Day of Atonement alone can fall on the Sabbath. If any of the others should happen to coincide with the Sabbath its celebration is postponed till the following day. Private or public occasional fasts are not allowable in the month of Nisan, during the holidays, on new moons, or on the minor festivals.

CHAPTER XXI.

Some Modern Religious Rites and Customs among the Jews, and their Origin.

Circumcision—Redemption of the First-born—The Dietary Laws—*Kapparath-Schlag* — *Peyoth* — Phylacteries — Praying - Shawl — Swaying the Body—The Marriage *Chuppah*—The Door-post Symbol.

Many of the religious customs of the Jews, a number of which are kept up even at the present day among the orthodox, offer fascinating subjects of study to the archæologist, as well as to the student of folk-lore. But our main reason in drawing attention to some of these here is to present an object-lesson in the antiquity of the Jewish religion. In these customs we have an unique example of a modern religious community in touch with a remote antiquity; and the study of them affords a very interesting insight into what is to the majority of mankind, all the world over, one of the most important factors in the *rationale* of religion, namely, its visible expression. While we may wonder at the incongruity of modern civilized communities keeping up customs which, in some instances at all events, are expressive of ideas proper to primitive man, it is only fair to remember that among those who practise these customs there is probably not a soul who realizes their original signification; "it is the property of religious customs, which have become traditional, to perpetuate themselves even when they no longer answer to contemporaneous ideas." [1] What has been said does not apply to *all* the customs and rites which are to be considered, and even in respect to those to which it does apply, it is well

[1] Réville, *Prolegomena of the History of Religions*, p. 132.

to remember that the same might with justice be urged in the case of some forms of Christian belief and practice ; but it is in Judaism that we find the most conspicuous survivals.

I. Circumcision.

In accordance with the command given in Gen. 17^{10}, every Jewish male is circumcized, and the rite is regarded as the sign of a covenant made with God. The origin of circumcision, therefore, is believed by Jews to be found in a command given by God to Abraham. But while the Old Testament itself offers conflicting testimony on this point (compare together Gen. 17^{10-12}; Ex. 4^{25-26}; Jos. 5^{5}), and the idea itself is revolting, the fact of the very wide prevalence of the rite is sufficient to show that its origin must be due to something very different ; it was practised by the ancient Arabs—the great Arabian peninsula is the primeval home of the Semite, and therefore circumcision must have been practised many centuries, perhaps milleniums, before the time of Abraham—by native African tribes, by the aborigines of Australia, by the Polynesians, and by many Central American races ; its extreme antiquity is further witnessed to by the Old Testament in that we are here told that the rite was performed with a flint (Ex. 4^{25}; Jos. 5^{2}). What its real origin was is still a matter of controversy among scholars, for it is very difficult to get at the back of the mind of primitive man. There are five theories: that it was a tribal mark, that it was of the nature of an offering to the deity, that hygienic motives lay at the root of it, that it was done to secure life in the world to come, and that it was a necessary preliminary to marriage. This variety of theory shows how complicated the problem is, for each theory is supported by scholarly and very weighty arguments.

The main point, however, about the custom among the Jews is that it is a *religious* observance, and herein

it is, at all events at the present day, almost unique.[1] In accordance with the command given in Gen. 17^{12}, the child is circumcized on the eighth day after birth (cf. Luke 1^{59}, 2^{21}; Acts 7^{8}; Gal. 4^{4}; Phil. 3^{5}), and it is usual to give a name at the same time (cf. Luke 2^{21}).[2] At the beginning of the Christian Era the ceremony was performed in the house, later on the child was brought to the Synagogue for the purpose, nowadays the earlier custom is in vogue, and the minister and the *Mohel* (the certificated official who performs the rite) come to the home.[3]

According to Rabbinical teaching Circumcision *sanctifies*, and it is this sanctification which differentiates the Jews from the rest of the world in the sight of God; it is said that if a Gentile kept the whole of the Law, but was not circumcized it would profit him nothing (*Debarim rabbah*, c. 1). The term "Covenant People" is applied because the Jews have observed the *sign* of the covenant. The fact of having been circumcized is believed to be meritorious *per se* in the sight of God.

II. Redemption of the First-born.

In accordance with the command given in Exodus 13^{13}, *All the first-born of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem*, it has always been the custom among the Jews to "redeem" the first-born child, provided that the first-born is a son; that is to say, if the first-born child is a daughter, and the second a son, then there is no need to redeem him; the command only applies in cases where a mother's *first* child is a boy. This ceremony, which takes place in the Synagogue, is technically known as *Pidyôn ha-bên*, "Redemption of the (first-born) son";[4]

[1] See Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, i, pp. 299 f.

[2] Girls receive names on the day of birth.

[3] See Singer, pp. 304–307.

[4] See Luke $2^{22\text{-}24,\ 27,\ 28}$. For the practice, among modern Arabs, of "redeeming" their children, see Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, pp. 194–204.

and it has to be performed thirty days after birth, this being the command contained in Num. 18^{16}; the price of redemption is five *sclaim* or shekels, equivalent to fifteen shillings of our money; this payment is likewise commanded in the Old Testament (Num. 3^{47}, 18^{16}). In the Synagogue-service the father of the child, after having made the declaration that the child is his first-born son and having acknowledged the obligation to redeem him, places before the *Cohen* ("Priest") the redemption-money; whereupon the *Cohen* asks: "Which wouldst thou rather, give me thy first-born son, the first-born of his mother, or redeem him for five *selaim*, which thou art bound to give according to the Law?" The father replies: "I desire rather to redeem my son, and here thou hast the value of his redemption, which I am bound to give according to the Law." When the *Cohen* takes the redemption-money, he holds it over the head of the child, and says: "This is instead of that, this in commutation for that, this in remission for that"; and after having pronounced a Benediction, while placing his hand on the child's head, the service is brought to an end.[1]

When one inquires into the meaning of this service, there are several questions that suggest themselves: Why, and from whom, or what, has the child to be redeemed? Why is it only the *first-born* male-child that has to be redeemed? Why are female children not redeemed? To answer these questions adequately would take too long here; we can only deal with them very briefly. The whole idea of this "redemption," or "buying back again," is the mitigation of an extremely barbarous, but very ancient, custom, which was at one time universal among the Semites, namely the offering-up, as a sacrifice to the deity, of the first-born son; if it be asked why this was done, the answer will be seen in the following extract:

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[1] Singer, pp. 308, 309.

One of the fundamental ideas with regard to Jehovah in early Israel was that of His being owner of the land, and consequently lord also of all that the land brought forth and of all that lived upon it (Lev. 25^{23} ; Ps. 50^{10-12}). Closely connected with this idea was a further one to the effect that the land was held in tenure ; Jehovah was the landowner, His people the tenants ; but their tenancy depended solely on the Will of Jehovah (Deut. 20^{30}, etc.).[1] As lord of the land and giver of all that it produced, tribute was due to Him ; this tribute took the form of the offering of first-fruits.[2] Not only, however, was the land Jehovah's possession, but the people who lived upon it, and upon its produce, were likewise His ; this would follow naturally by virtue of Jehovah's overlordship. Therefore, just as Jehovah, being owner of the land, received the first-fruits of its produce as tribute due to Him, so, being also owner of the people, did He receive the first-born as, in the same way, a tribute due to Him. This is not definitely stated in the Bible, but the notices of child-sacrifice lead us to infer that at some early period the rite of the sacrifice of the first-born was performed, and the analogy of the offering up of the firstlings of the flock points to a similar usage with regard to man (Exod. 13^{2}, 12^{29}, 34^{20}) ; moreover, the prevalence of the practice among ethnologically allied races makes it in a high degree probable that originally the descendants of Abram sacrificed their first-born as a tribute to the Deity. Some examples of Semitic peoples offering up their first-born sons are : the Moabites (2 Kings 3^{27}) ; the early Arabs (see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 115, 116) ;

[1] This Old Testament conception is illustrated in the Gospels by the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Matt. 22^{23} ff. and parallel passages ; cf. also Mark 13^{34}).

[2] It will, of course, be understood that this was adapted to agricultural life from the earlier nomadic life with its flocks and herds (cf., Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, ii, pp. 147 ff).

the Canaanites (this is shown abundantly by the recent excavations on the site of ancient Gezer by the "Palestine Exploration Fund," see *Quarterly Statement* for the years 1903 ff. *passim*), the Phœnicians (Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia*, ch. xi).[1] Thus the first-born son was regarded as the property of Jehovah, from Whom he had to be "redeemed," or bought. The reason why only this one child was to be redeemed goes back to the ancient ideas of the first being the best, and the representative of the rest. The reason why first-born girls need not be redeemed is because, in Religion, females do not count; see further on the point § ix of this Chapter.

III. The Dietary Laws.

In accordance with the long lists, in Lev. 11, Deut. 14, of "unclean" animals which the Israelites were forbidden to eat, it has been a religious custom among orthodox Jews in all ages to abstain from the use of certain foods; and the laws which embody the prohibitions are called the "Dietary Laws." The Rabbis explained these commands to abstain from "unclean" food in the following way: "These commands were given with the highest of all objects—for the sake of the purity which obedience to them imparts to the moral life"; [2] or again, "The ideal Jew does not say, 'I have no desire to eat swine's flesh, no desire to indulge any sensual cravings; I desire, but I will conquer the desire for the sake of my Father which is in Heaven.' For to keep aloof from sin is the true separateness,[3] and only to such as painfully wrestle with temptation cometh the Kingdom

[1] Oesterley in Hastings *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i, 597, and compare the same writer's art. in the *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology, xxiv, pp. 253 ff.

[2] *Bereshith Rabbah*, c. xliv, quoted by M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. 184.

[3] The idea of "separateness" in Hebrew connotes that of "sanctification."

of God." [1] Later on, Maimonides taught that they were intended as a training in self-mastery; that they habituate men to curb carnal desires; that they rebuke the temper that makes sensual pleasure an aim in life. More cautiously, Nachmanides said that these ordinances of the Pentateuch, though their purpose may not be explicitly set forth, are "meant for the good of man"; they are either "to keep us aloof from something hurtful, or to educate us in goodness," [2] according to a modern teacher. Another authoritative Jewish teacher says: "The Dietary Laws. . . may help to maintain Jewish separateness; they may preserve the idea of Israel's consecration; they may exert a powerful influence upon personal purity. They are even more than this—they are vital objects. The consciousness of being an elect people, and the power of setting an example to the world of personal holiness, are alike essential to the fulfilment of our Divinely-appointed errand. Every law that strengthens these qualities merits respect and obedience. It is a law which still fulfils a great purpose. It is a living law, and therefore a law that deserves to live." [3] These are the reasons given for observing the "Dietary Laws"; the original reason was, however, a stronger one, and this may perhaps be explained best in the following way. There were two sets of ideas in the antique world of thought—both of which come from a common ancestry, most probably—which have to be taken into consideration in this connexion. In the first place Totemism; it is quite impossible to deal here with this subject, it must suffice to say that this refers to the belief that different clans are descended from different animals (sometimes also from plants); the particular animal from which a clan was believed to be descended was therefore "taboo" to all the members

[1] M. Joseph, *op. cit.* p. 184.
[2] Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 151.
[3] M. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

of that clan; they would not harm it, much less kill it or eat it[1], because, according to the ideas of the times, they would be damaging the life of the clan if they did so, and all the members of the clan would suffer in consequence; the animal in question was the "Totem"-animal. The fundamental principle of "Totemism" is blood-relationship between an animal species and a tribe or clan; the latter was then called after the former. Animal names for tribes in the Old Testament are not unknown, e.g., the *Calebites* = "Dogs" (*And Ephah, Caleb's concubine, bare Haran,* 1 Chron. 2^{46}, see Josh. 14^{14}; 1 Sam. 30^{14}, etc.); we know from other sources that the dog was holy to the Harranians, who offered sacrificial gifts to it (cf. Is. 66^{3}); again, we read of the proper name *Achbor* = "Mouse," in Gen. 36^{38}, and others. Numbers of parallels are to be found all over the world among savage tribes, in which there can be no shadow of doubt that the animal-name of the tribe denotes descent from such animal; "that the names are mere accidents or mere metaphors is an assumption which can seem plausible only to those who do not know savage ways of thought." [2] It is therefore, in part, due to unconscious remnants of Totemistic conceptions that the prohibitions, referred to above, find their place in the Old Testament. But, though connected with this, there is probably a more immediate cause. All gods and goddesses in ancient times had animals who were "holy" to them; the origin of this is probably to be sought, in part, in the theory of deified Totems; but whether this was so or not is immaterial for our present purpose; the fact remains that certain animals were "holy" to certain gods or goddesses; thus the hare was "holy" to Astarte (Ashtoreth), [3] the pig was "holy" to Attis,

[1] Excepting on very special occasions.
[2] Robertson Smith, *Kinship* . . ., p. 237.
[3] See *The Churchman*, "Why was the hare considered unclean among the Israelites?" Dec., 1903, pp. 146 ff.

fish were "holy" to Atargatis, and so on; and to eat of the "holy" animal was to profess allegiance to its deity. So that, to express it quite briefly, the prohibitions contained in Lev. 11, Deut 14 were—apart from all *original* significations—in reality put forth in the interests of Jehovah-worship to the exclusion of heathen cults. And this reason was an all-sufficient one; for that the prohibitions were sorely needed, will be clear to any one who realizes how prone, according to the witness of the Old Testament, the Israelites were to take part in alien cults. The "Dietary Laws" will thus be seen to have a very long history behind them. In connexion with this subject mention may be made of what is called the *Shechitah*, i.e., the ritual slaughtering of animals which are used for food. The *Shochet* ("slaughterer") is required to pass a severe examination in all the laws and usages of his calling before he can exercise his functions—even after having entered upon his duties he is required to keep himself *au fait* by reviewing the laws of *Shechitah* at least once a month. A special knife (*Challaph*) is used for slaughtering which has to be at least twice as long as the width of the throat of the animal about to be slaughtered. A prayer is said before the animal is killed: "Blessed art Thou. . . who sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us concerning slaughtering." The act of slaughtering according to the law consists in severing the windpipe; and the underlying idea of the whole process is seen from the fact that some of the blood which has been shed has to be covered with earth (cf. Lev. 17^{13}) and the following words have to be pronounced: "Blessed art Thou. . . Who has sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to cover blood with earth." The real purpose is to remove the blood, in accordance with the command given in Lev. $7^{26, 27}$, *And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast.* . .; the reason for this is given in Lev. $17^{11, 14}$;

The life of the flesh is in the blood . . . it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life. . . For as to the life of all flesh, the blood thereof is all one with the life thereof. . . for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof. So that the reason why it was forbidden to taste blood was because by doing so the life of the animal would be absorbed by the eater, and this would mean the partaking of the *nature* of the animal; for the same reason "things strangled" were forbidden, because there was no possibility of the blood flowing away (cf. Acts $15^{20\ 29}$, 21^{25}). That is, very briefly, the origin and *raison d'être* of the *Shechitah*.

IV. "Kapparath-Schlag."

This name illustrates what is aptly termed the "Jargon" of the vast majority of the Jews at the present day; "Kapparath" (correctly "Kapparah") signifies a "means of atonement," from the Hebrew root meaning "to cover," i.e., sin (cf. *Yom Kippur*, "day of Atonement"); "Schlag" is the ordinary German word for a "blow." The expression is employed in reference to an animal used as "a sort of vicarious sacrifice on the day previous to the Day of Atonement. As a rule, a cock is taken by a male, and a hen by a female person; and after the recitation of Ps. 107^{17-20} and Job 33^{23-24}, the fowl is swung round the head three times while the right hand is put upon the animal's head. At the same time the following is thrice said in Hebrew: 'This be my substitute, my vicarious offering, my atonement. This cock [or hen] shall meet death, but I shall find a long and pleasant life of peace.' After this the animal is slaughtered and given to the poor, or, what is deemed better, is eaten by the owners while the value of it is given to the poor." [1] Whenever possible a white fowl is used, because of the words in Is. 1^{18},

[1] *JE*, vii, 435.

Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow. . . ; sometimes a ram is slaughtered instead, in reference to the ram caught in a thicket (Gen. 22^{13}). The ceremony is interesting as being the solitary remnant among modern European Jews of their ancient sacrificial system; the cock is the modern counterpart of the scapegoat.

V. "Peyoth."

Among some of the ultra-orthodox Jews, especially in Poland, it is customary for the men to wear hair-ringlets (*Peyoth*, often pronounced *pyus*); these are long curls which hang down at each ear. This is done in accordance with the command in Lev. 19^{27}, *Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard;* cf. Jer. 9^{26} (v. 25 in Heb.). No reason is given by modern Jews for this custom other than the Biblical prohibition; but this latter is to be explained as a reference to a widespread heathen rite, according to which it was customary to lay one's hair upon the tomb as a sign of union with the departed. In antiquity the hair was always regarded as pre-eminently part of oneself, so that to offer hair was the surrogate for offering oneself. That in the passage Lev. 19^{27} it is a question of doing something in honour of the dead is clear from the context, which goes on to say, *Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.* It is well known that hair offerings to the dead were common among the Semites as well as among other peoples; thus Arab women laid their hair on the tombs of the dead,[1] Achilles laid his hair in the hand of the dead Patroclus.[2] But it is equally certain that hair was cut off and brought as an offering to heathen

[1] Wellhausen, *Reste. . .* p. 182. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 325.

[2] *Ibid.* note, cf. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions Sémitiques*, p. 278.

deities; Ephrem Syrus, in commenting on Lev. 19^{27}, says, for example, that "it was the custom of the heathen to let their hair grow for a certain time, and then on a fixed day to shave the beard in a temple or beside a sacred fountain." It is no doubt in reference to something of this kind that we read in Ezek. 4^{20}, *Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads.* There are thus two distinct rites in connexion with hair offerings referred to in the Old Testament. The modern "Peyoth" would seem to trace their origin to the prohibition to cut off the "corners" of the beard for the purpose of bringing them as offerings to the dead; there is no vestige in the modern custom of anything that would point to the other alternative.

VI. Phylacteries ("*Tefillîn*").

This Greek word, meaning "guards," is the equivalent for either the Hebrew word *Tefillah*, "prayer," or more probably, for the same word in Aramaic,[1] where, however, it signifies "ornament"; it was used to translate the Hebrew word for "frontlets" (*Totâfoth*). These *Tefillîn* are worn in accordance with the Jewish interpretation of the words in Deut. 6^{8}: *And thou shalt bind them* (i.e. the words of God) *for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes* (cf. Deut. 11^{18}; Exod. $13^{9, 16}$). This literal interpretation, however, has not always been accepted without protest in Rabbinical circles, many Rabbis holding that the general law only was expressed in the Bible, the application and elaboration of it being entirely matters of tradition and inference.[2] But in spite of this, "there are more laws—ascribed to oral delivery by God to Moses—clustering about the institution of *Tefillîn* than about

[1] It is used in the Targums as the equivalent of "Phylactery."
[2] *Sanhedrin* 88^{b}; see *JE*, x, 21.

any other institution of Judaism." [1] There are two kinds of *Tefillin;* the *Hand-* or *Arm-Tefillah* (technically known as *Shel Yad* or *Shel Zeroa'*), and the *Head-Tefillah* (technically known as *Shel Rosh*); they each consist of a little black square box[2] made of the skin of a "clean" animal; fastened to each box underneath is a piece of thick leather, this is sewn to the box with threads made from the veins of "clean" animals; to each box there are also fixed long straps of leather, likewise made from the skins of "clean" animals, whereby it is attached to the arm or head. Each box contains the following passages: Exod. $13^{1-10,11-16}$; Deut. 6^{4-9}, 11^{13-21}; these are written in Hebrew (*Lĕshôn ha-Kodesh* = "the Holy Tongue") upon parchment made from the skin of a "clean" animal; in the case of the *Hand-Tefillah*, which consists of only one compartment, all four passages are written on a single piece of parchment, while for the *Head-Tefillah* which has four compartments, four pieces of parchment are required, upon each of which one of the Scripture passages is written. A peculiarity about the *Head-Tefillah* is that on the right and left sides of the box the Hebrew letter "shin" (ש) is inscribed, on the right side with three strokes or prongs, on the left with four, to correspond with the four little pieces of parchment inside; this letter is the first of the Hebrew *Shaddai* (="Almighty"), the second (ד) and third (י) letters of this word are formed by the strap which fixes the little box to the head. The technical term used for putting on the *Tefillin* is to "lay" them, and minute directions have to be observed when this is done; the *Hand-* or *Arm-Tefillah* is laid first, it is fixed on the inner part of the left arm just above the elbow, the arm must be bare when this is done, and the *Tefillah* is fastened to it by a strap which has

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[1] *Sanhedrin* 88[b]; see *JE*, x, 22.
[2] The size of each box is two fingers' breadth each way.

to be wound round it seven times, as well as three times round the middle finger of the left hand. The *Head-Tefillah* is laid in the middle of the forehead, the strap going round the head, and the ends of the strap falling down over the shoulders in front. Prayers are said during the laying and during the taking off of the *Tefillîn ;* they are worn during the daily morning service, but not on Sabbaths or Holy days, because these are themselves "signs," which makes it unnecessary to wear them, for they are also "signs" (cf. Exod. $13^{9, 16}$). Originally they were worn all day. Only men, and boys from the age of thirteen years onwards, wear *Tefillîn ;* they are forbidden to women. Every Jew has a little bag in which the *Tefillîn* are kept, sometimes the bag is beautifully decorated with embroidery. *Tefillîn* have been worn since the third century B.C., possibly earlier still ; the writer of the Letter of Aristeas, and Josephus both imply that the custom was introduced by Moses, they must therefore have believed them to be very ancient.[1]

Of the origin of the *Tefillîn* there can be little doubt ; the *Totaphoth* (for which *Tefillîn* is used in Talmudic literature) were amulets worn as safeguards against demons[2] ; the name *Phylacteries* (cf. Matt. 23^{5}) implies a similar idea. The belief in the ubiquity of demons, which has been universal up to within quite recent times, required special safeguards, of which *Tefillîn* were an example. There are some special reasons for this opinion, which cannot, however, be dealt with here in detail ; but students of Demonology will appreciate the significance of two things, in particular, about the *Tefillîn ;* firstly, the knotted straps (see further section vii of this Chapter), and secondly, the

[1] *Letter of Aristeas* 159. *Antiq.* IV, viii, 13.

[2] See the art. "The Demonology of the Old Testament," in the *Expositor*, June, 1907.

inscribed Hebrew letter on the *Head-Tefillah;* it is important to notice that this is on the *Tefillah* on which it can be seen—which would not be the case if inscribed on the *Arm-Tefillah*—for anything that was thought likely to attract the look of a demon and thus draw off his attention from the person himself, was considered good, especially when, as in this case, that which was intended to attract the demon's attentioo was the name *Shaddai*, formed by the inscribed letter and the twisted leather bands—the "Almighty," under whose protection the wearer was. It is, indeed, not improbable that this inscribed letter was the original cause of the name "Phylactery." Things of an analagous character were worn by other peoples.[1]

VII. Praying-Shawl (Talîth) and Fringes (Tsitsith).

When orthodox Jews say their prayers they wear a silken shawl with "fringes" attached to the four corners. This is done in obedience to the command given in Deut. 22^{12}, *Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four corners of thy vesture wherewith thou coverest thyself.* The word "fringes" means really "twisted cords," what we should describe as tassels; in Num. 15^{38-40}, this commandment is explained in the words: *It* (i.e., the "fringe" or "tassel") *shall be unto you for a fringe* ("*tsitsith*") *that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them.* The original form was probably a tassel hanging at each end of the four corners of the outer garment, to which it was attached by a blue cord, in obedience to the words of Num. 15^{38}, *that they put upon the fringe of each border a cord of blue.*[2] The garment itself was a large piece of linen or wool covering the whole body, the loose end of which

[1] See, e.g., the art. in the *Expositor* referred to above.
[2] Cf. Matt. 23^{5} and other passages.

hung over the left shoulder;[1] it probably resembled the long cloak which the Bedouin Arabs wear at the present day. The name of the modern form of this garment, *Talith* is a corruption of the Greek στολή (=stole); its present shape and size have undergone modification, for in course of time, and owing in great measure to persecution, it was found necessary to conceal the tassels attached to it; for these, as we have seen, hung to the outer garment; therefore a new method was devised whereby the "fringes" could be hidden, and yet the demands of the Law be fulfilled. The "fringes" were attached to a smaller garment, but large enough to cover the breast and the back, it has a hole in the centre for the head to pass through; this was worn under the ordinary clothing, and therefore could not be seen. This garment, which is still worn by all orthodox Jews, is called *'Arba' Kanfoth*, "Four Corners," in reference to the four corners mentioned in Deut. 22^{12}; it is known also as the "Little Talith" to distinguish it from the ordinary or "Large Talith." The *Talith* proper—the lineal descendant of the ancient "garment with fringes"—is used only in the Synagogue, where it is worn over the head, and is called the "Praying Shawl"; the fringes or "Tsitsith" are now attached to it again, as there is no occasion to keep them concealed any more; but the custom of wearing them on the "Little Tallith" is kept up still, so that both garments have them nowadays. A prayer is said before putting on each. While the ordinary *Talith* originated by adopting an everyday garment to a specifically religious use, somewhat after the manner of the Christian stole, the origin of the *Tsitsith* or twisted cord is the same as that of the "Phylacteries." Chief among the symbolic acts whereby,

[1] The tassel attached to this corner was, doubtless, the "hem" or "border" of the garment touched by the woman with the issue of blood, Matt. 9^{20}, cf. 14^{36}.

in antiquity, it was sought to counteract demoniacal activity, was the tying and untying of a knot; this, on the principle of imitative magic, represented that a man who had been "bound"[1] by a demon was by the symbolic act "unbound" or released; and thus, by the process of counteraction by synthesis, was developed the idea that anything twisted or knotted was in the nature of an amulet, and exercised a deterrent effect upon demons.

VIII. Swaying the Body.

It has been the custom in time past, as it still is among many oriental Jews and among those of eastern Europe, to sway the body whilst studying, and especially whilst praying. Very diverse reasons have been given for this strange custom, the quaintest of which is assuredly that which explains it as a visible and literal carrying out of the Psalmist's words, *All my bones shall say, Lord who is like unto Thee* (Ps. 35^{10}), i.e., an act of praise on the part of the bones! It is more reasonable to trace the origin of the custom to the species of frenzy which seized the ancient *Nabi* ("Prophet") when he felt the spirit of the Lord coming upon him; the modern "Dancing Dervishes" offer, in reality, an analogous phenomenon. Dancing has always been a religious act in days gone by, as it is among many savage tribes to-day;[2] among the Israelites we have instances in 1 Sam. 30^{16}, where the word for dancing means literally "to keep the feast," and in 2 Sam. 6^{14}, where we read of David dancing before the Lord "with all his might."[3] This swaying of the body is, therefore, as we conceive, a faint remnant of the religious dance.

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[1] Cf. Luke 13^{16}, . . . *whom Satan had bound, lo, these eighteen years.* . . .

[2] See, e.g., Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 174.

[3] Cf. also the "Torch-Dance" in the Temple at the end of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, see Chap. xix, § iii.

IX. The Marriage-Chuppah.

From the point of view of folk-lore this is one of the most interesting religious customs among the Jews. The modern *Chuppah* is a canopy of cloth supported by poles, under which the bride and bridegroom stand for the wedding ceremony. In days gone by it was in the form of a bower, made of roses and myrtles. This custom must have a very long history behind it; we can do no more here than point to a few of a very large number of parallels. Among the Hindoos the bridal pair stand within a "marriage-bower"; this custom was also common in Spain at one time. In Abyssinia a bower of green branches is erected in the courtyard, in which "the bride and groom sit in state on opposite sides, each surrounded by friends." At Egyptian weddings "the bride is attended by several girls who cluster round her under the same canopy."[1] The idea underlying this custom is the same all the world over; it is a remnant of the curious conception that a bride—and therefore also the bridegroom who is about to be united to her[2]—is "dangerous"; she was regarded with an undefined fear, owing to the ideas which early man had with regard to all women.[3]

Another marriage custom, the meaning of which is more obvious, is the spreading of the *Talith* over the bridal couple; this is symbolic of union, and can be paralleled by similar rites in all parts of the world. Thus, at marriages amongst the Jews in Jerusalem, it is customary to throw a white garment over the pair as an indication that they now belong to one another; all present exclaim: "May it be a good sign."[4] A like custom is seen among the Hovas. In Tahiti, in the

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[1] Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 336 f.

[2] Originally the bride was concealed from the bridegroom during the marriage ceremony; cf the modern bridal veil.

[3] See further on this subject, Crawley, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[4] Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, v, p. 140.

south-east of Borneo, in North Nias, and among the Battas of Sumatra, the pair are enveloped in a cloth.[1]

One other marriage-custom may be noted here, viz., the breaking of a glass ; this is said to be a " sign of mourning, even at the height of human felicity," [2] for Zion. A more rational explanation is that given of a like ceremony at weddings in Morocco ; the priest hands to the couple a glass of wine after blessing it, and each drink of it. The glass is then smashed on the ground by the groom, " with a covert meaning that he wishes that they may never be parted until the glass again becomes perfect." [3] In Poland at Jewish weddings the pair drink wine which has been blessed by the Rabbi, after which the glass is broken. The real idea is probably that the drinking together from the glass symbolizes union, and the glass is broken in order to keep others from making a magical use of it ; for, according to antique ideas, any object touched by a person becomes, in a sense, part of himself ; and if the object is harmed, then, by imitative magic, the person himself is harmed too.[4]

It will be seen, therefore, that some of the Jewish marriage customs go back, in their origin, to a hoary antiquity.

X. The Door-Post Symbol (Mezuzah).

This consists of a piece of parchment made of the skin of a " clean " animal, on which are written parts of the *Shema'*, viz., Deut. 6^{4-9}, 11^{13-21}, in twenty-two lines. This little piece of parchment is rolled together and enclosed in a glass, metal or wooden tube, and fixed on the right-hand " door-post " (*Mezuzah*) of the house. Not infrequently, in the case of the very orthodox, it is fixed at the entrance to every room in a house. A small

[1] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 174. [2] *JE*, viii, 341.
[3] Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
[4] The rite acquired other (but still early) associations: cf. pp. 287 f. above.

opening is left in the centre of the case, where the letter "ש," the first letter of *Shaddai* ("Almighty"), or else the whole word, written on the back of the scroll, is visible.[1] The *Mezuzah* is put up slanting, pointing towards the house or room; and when it is fastened to its place the following words are pronounced: "Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the world, Who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and hast commanded us to fasten the *mezuzah*." Strictly orthodox Jews touch the *Mezuzah*, and kiss the hand that has done so, whenever they enter and leave the room or house; the spot touched is where the name *Shaddai* appears, and the words: "May God keep my going out and my coming in from henceforth and for evermore," are uttered. This custom is based upon a literal interpretation of Deut. 6[9], *And thou shalt write them* (i.e., the *commandments of the Lord*) *upon the door-posts of thy house and upon thy gates*. The *Mezuzah* was originally a safeguard against the approach of demons; the Mohammedans have a similar custom of inscribing verses from the Koran on their doors and at the entrances to their houses, with a like object; the same prevailed among the ancient Egyptians. The Rabbis in Talmudic times attributed a protective power to the *Mezuzah*, especially that of warding off evil spirits.[2]

The religious customs here referred to are far from exhausting the list that could be given; but enough has been said to show what an extraordinary link with the distant past is afforded by the popular visible expressions of their religion as practised by the majority of the Jews at the present day.

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[1] Cf. the same custom with regard to the *Head-Tephillah*, mentioned above.

[2] *JE*, viii., 532.

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